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Principles of School Administration

A SYNTHESIS OF BASIC CONCEPTS

BY

PAUL R. MORT, PH.D., LITT. D.

Professor of Education

Teachers College, Columbia University

First Edition

THIRD IMPRESSION

New York *London*

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PREFACE

As I have viewed various attempts to find solutions to administrative problems and tried my hand at some of them, I have found myself baffled by the lack of encompassing theory. No such theory has been at hand either as a basis for appraisal of the solutions of others or as a tool for illuminating the novel problems I myself have faced. It has seemed to me that the literature of our field has been piecemeal. To no small degree it is made up of rules of thumb collected from hither and yon. Such parts of it carry no hints as to their relative importance for the principles underlying them are not apparent. Other parts of the literature deal with sets of principles or theories encompassing only a phase of administration such as budgets, accounting, building planning, and curriculum development. No matter how internally consistent these special theories may be, they do not carry the stigmata that are the keys to *relative* emphasis. What I have felt the need of is a set of internally consistent principles covering the whole range of administration. This book is an attempt to meet that need. A systematic presentation of the pattern by which the problem is approached appears in Chap. I.

It was my original intention to include in this book a much more detailed treatment of the structural and procedural applications of the tempo principles, the core, I believe, of the dynamics of school administration. This, however, has been reserved for another volume, partly because such detailed treatment would destroy the balance in the basic concepts, which I think the book as it stands achieves, and partly because a series of new researches in the subject have recently been opened up in the laboratory provided by the Metropolitan School Study Council.

As a matter of fact, the spur to develop a synthesis of basic concepts came in no small degree from an attempt to maintain balance during a decade of intensive study of the vibrant tempo principles, particularly of adaptability. The present work is in a sense, therefore, a by-product of a search for a useful theory of educational dynamics—a theory that will put invention and the diffusion of invention of ways to meet changing concepts of purpose at the center

and will modify the administrative structure and attendant procedures to meet the demands of the humanitarian and prudential principles and of empirical knowledge.

If this synthesis of basic principles proves to be a roadworthy chassis, it can be used and improved with the dynamic patterns now available, whether or not they are built about the tempo principles. Such use should make it all the more ready as better power units emerge from the laboratory or from the work of practitioners in the field.

In presenting this book I wish to acknowledge the great help and encouragement that I have had from students in my course in Basic Concepts of School Administration, on whom I have tested this "theory" in its various stages of evolution over the past five years. Particularly I wish to acknowledge the help of one of those students, Donald H. Ross, who, having worked through the exercises of the course, rendered the assistance in preparing the exercises and bibliographies for this book that only one who had worked through the theory without benefit of a text could render; and of another, Sidney M. Bliss, who read the manuscript in an early stage of its development and gave me valuable suggestions.

In addition, I wish to acknowledge the help of Superintendent Alexander J. Stoddard of Philadelphia, Superintendent A. L. Threlkeld of Montclair, and Director John K. Norton of Teachers College, who read the complete text and gave many suggestions for its improvement; and the kindness of Professors Arthur I. Gates, Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, and Robert Bruce Raup, and of Dr. William S. Vincent, all of Teachers College, who, to the advantage of the book, read Chaps. II, III, IV and V, respectively.

I wish to acknowledge the hearty cooperation of Superintendents Arthur L. Gould of Boston, Herold C. Hunt of Kansas City, Mo., William H. Johnson of Chicago, Charles H. Lake of Cleveland, Emerson H. Landis of Dayton, Ward I. Miller of Eastchester, Leon N. Neulen of Camden, Willard B. Spalding of Portland, and Virgil Stinebaugh of Indianapolis, who responded to my request for a list of the books they found desirable to have ever at hand. Their suggestions were exceedingly helpful in the formulation of the list of books recommended in Appendix C as useful for the superintendents' bookshelf.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the kindness of various publishers in giving permission to quote from their publications, as noted in the text, and the contributions of a long list of people of whom I have unhappily lost count but whose labors on a Works Progress Admin-

istration project in the early thirties left as a by-product in my files thousands of translations of statements bearing on home rule, from which I was able to select many of those appearing in Chaps. VIII and XIX, and of Professor Daniel P. Girard of Teachers College, who checked the translations of the passages selected.

Paul R. Mort

New York, N. Y.,
April, 1946.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE . vii

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION—ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION WITH THE BASIC PRINCIPLES 1

Approach from the Operational Level—Principles of the Culture—Comparison with Principles Applying to Specific Areas—Classification of Administrative Problems—Exercises—Selected Readings.

Part I. Principles of Adequacy—Purposes and Their Conditioners

CHAPTER II

GUIDING PURPOSES OF PUBLIC EDUCATION 1

Education: A Bridge between the Seers and the Cultural Front—Two Basic Principles of Purpose—Maintenance of Our Social System—The Realization of Abundant Life—Setting the Patterns of the Good Life—Relation of Principles of Purpose to Other Principles—Appeal to Purpose in Times of Stress—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER III

PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF PURPOSE 31

The Administrator as Interpreter—Need of Simplification—Challenge to Formal Discipline—Individual Differences—Realism in Teaching—Phenomena of Growth—Interest as an Indicator of Readiness—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIOECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF PURPOSE. 46

Sources of Insight—Responsibility of Administrators—Seven Groups of Trends—Creative vs. Pathological Interpretation—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER V

EMERGING DESIGN OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AS RELATED TO PURPOSES. 59

Emerging Practices in Elementary and High Schools—Extensions Downward and Upward—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

PAGE

Part II. Common Sense in School Administration

CHAPTER VI

INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES OF BASIC PRINCIPLES EXPRESSING THE COMMON SENSE OF THE CULTURE 91

Correcting a Weakness in Professional Training—Evolution of the Common-sense Principles—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER VII

DEMOCRACY AND ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETION 99

Limitations of Structural Democracy—Leeway for Democratic Operation—Scope of Democratic Administration—Limitations on Democratic Administration—The Staff as Policy Makers—Pupil Participation in Policy Formation—Free vs. Organized Administration—Implementing and Safeguarding Devices—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY 116

Demands of the Political Democracy Criterion—Our Political Democracy Bias—Political Democracy and Structure—Local—Political Democracy and Operation of Schools—State Structure and Operation—Serving Democracy and Getting the Job Done—Confusion of Objectives—A Critical Aspect of Political Democracy—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER IX

JUSTICE. 142

Shortcomings of Administrative Justice—The Case for Uniformity—Justice and Structural Setting—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER X

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY. 152

Critical Relation to Adequacy—Equality vs. Uniformity—Progress toward Equality in School Programs—Relation to Family Economic Status—Equality and Those Favored by Nature—Applications to Structure—Confusion in Use of Terms—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

PAGE

CHAPTER XI

PRUDENCE: ECONOMY, CHECKS AND BALANCES, LIBERTY AND LICENSE. 161

Roots in the Culture—Manifestations of Prudence—Returns for Money Spent—Checks and Balances—Liberty and License—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER XII

PRUDENCE CONTINUED: SIMPLICITY, RESPONSIBILITY, LOYALTIES, INERTIA. 177

Simplicity—Responsibility and Authority—Loyalties—Inertia—Danger of Overstressing Prudential Considerations—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER XIII

ADAPTABILITY. 195

Relation of Adaptability to Stability and Flexibility—Adaptability in American Culture—Examples from Other Fields—Need for Greater Emphasis in Education—The Educational Program—Short Cuts to Adaptation in Operational Units—Local Setting—State Setting—Minimum Support Level for Rapid Diffusion—Tax Freedom of School Districts—The Large City District—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER XIV

FLEXIBILITY 225

Flexibility in Operating Unit—Flexibility in Legal Structure—Where Variation Is Not Needed—Complexity Related to Need for Variation—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER XV

STABILITY 234

Approaches to Stability—Setting for Stability—Stability as a Criterion—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

Part III. Empirical Knowledge

CHAPTER XVI

RESEARCH, EXPERIENCE, AND FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS 254

Source of Unity—Professional Library—Rules for Interpreting Evidence—Available Analyses Not Adequate—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

Part IV Balanced Judgment and Legal Concepts Having Their Roots in the Common-sense Principles

PAGE

CHAPTER XVII

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF BALANCED JUDGMENT IN THE WORK OF ADMINISTRATORS 261

Restatement of Balanced Judgment—Power Classification of School Administration—Variety of Principles in Operation—Balanced Judgment in Conceptual Designs for Intricate Problems—Tendencies to Overemphasis of One Principle—Checks on Balanced Judgment—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LOCAL OPERATIONAL SETTING. 280

Extent of Local Powers—Board Rules and Regulations—Administrative Plans—Home Rule Patterns of Organization—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

CHAPTER XIX

THE LEGAL STRUCTURE 299

Education a State Function—School District Organization—Separability of Finance and Control—Courts and Structure—Structure in Flux—State School Code—Summary—Exercises—Selected Readings.

APPENDIX A. SUMMARY OF THE 101 PATTERNS OF EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE 325

APPENDIX B. GUIDE FOR THE USE OF *WHAT EDUCATION OUR MONEY BUYS* AS AN APPRAISAL INSTRUMENT. 332

APPENDIX C. SUPERINTENDENTS' LIBRARY. 333

APPENDIX D. THE ADMINISTRATIVE CODE OF GREEN WILLOWS, N.Y. 336

APPENDIX E. SCHOOL CODE FOR THE STATE OF NEW OSCEOLA 347

LIST OF VISUAL AIDS 369

INDEX 375

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION—ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION WITH THE BASIC PRINCIPLES

This chapter defines the vantage point from which school administration is viewed in this book and outlines the basic principles that describe the setting in which administration operates.

APPROACH FROM THE OPERATIONAL LEVEL

The operation of a school system at the local level is an extremely complex matter. Particularly is this true in American schools. The local operating unit is not just an arm of a state-wide system; it comes sharply under the play of public opinion in its own locality. Not only is it subject to control by certain mandates and restrictions set up by agencies of state-wide jurisdiction, but it is also subject to a much more fluid and more extensive series of controls rising from the community in which it operates.

These local controls are of such importance that it is realistic to think of school administration primarily as local administration, subordinating the specialized services and controls of central agencies as something abstracted from the complete and unified pattern that exists on the operational level.

This book adopts this point of view. It seeks to find the level on which all the forces are in play. In general this is on the level of the superintendent of schools of the local school district. In large city and county systems, however, it continually drops to the level of the individual school or of a group of schools within the system. The reason for this is that the officials of large cities or counties appear to be too remote to bring all the factors of home rule into play, and a treatment of administration at the level of the superintendent takes on the same "partial" characteristics as treatments that start with the state department of education as the center and work outward.

In this book, therefore, administration is not viewed as an agent of a central agency either fully or mainly. The legislature in delegating power to local school districts has not followed that concept of delegating specific powers which is the controlling characteristic of what is known as line and staff organization. While this operates to a minor degree in mandatory legislation and in certain highly specific powers

and duties with which the legislature invests the state department of education, the general pattern is that of delegating broad powers to school districts. It is the home-rule pattern rather than the line and staff pattern. With the wide range of discretion provided local administration, it is at one and the same time freed from a slavish ministerial relationship with central officers and made subject to a vast range of community influences which the ministerial type of line and staff subordinate officer is empowered to ignore or at least to resist.

PRINCIPLES OF THE CULTURE

The character of these controls that are brought sharply into play by home rule can be inferred from certain characteristics of the public mind.

First we must ask who constitutes the public. In addition to the mind of the citizen in general, of the taxpayer, of public-minded persons, and of parents, we must include the mind of staff and student body. The reason for this is that once the nonschool public has channels of expression opened up to it, pupils, teachers, and janitors that mingle with the nonschool public exercise an influence of a quite different character from those exercised when the routes open to public expression are devious or lead far away from the immediate neighborhood. Home rule therefore brings into play a public mind in which all the persons in and out of the school participate and administration becomes synonymous with "the coordination of the educational thinking and acting of all interested members of the local community, as nearly as possible in line with the mandates, restrictions, and exhortations of the legislature and the central agents it may have provided."

What are the influences that enter into the judgments of the individuals who contribute to the public mind?

Of course, the members of this public are moved by certain more or less remotely perceived objectives for education. Their conception of a school that will meet these objectives (as indeed is the case with the administrator) is in turn influenced by what they believe to be the nature of the learning process; by their interpretation of the demands made by the socioeconomic milieu in which they are immersed; and by their appraisal of devices available for achieving the purposes. The basic principles of purpose are dealt with in Chaps. II to V.

But the public mind is moved by considerations other than conceptions of purpose. Attitudes toward educational policy are influenced by considerations that are a heritage of the culture. Chapter VI is an introduction to the treatment of principles in this realm.

Some of these considerations are humanitarian. The public are concerned not only with ends to be achieved but with democratic, just, and egalitarian treatment of persons affected by the process of achieving them (Chaps. VII to X).

Other considerations are prudential: The public are concerned that the ends be achieved without outraging the sense of the practical that they have built up in their business relationships, at work, or in the operation of their homes. They are concerned with economy; they believe that the really important things are simple; they are suspicious of cleverness; they want schools to achieve their ends in ways that appeal to their sense of the practical, of the common sense. These prudential considerations are the subjects of Chaps. XI and XII.

It is not suggested that these same factors do not operate on "remote" administration. In the long run it is our faith that they do. But under home rule they are ever present and pressing. Particularly is this so with respect to the humanitarian and prudential considerations that are so deeply ingrained, so emotionalized, that they frequently cause all concerned to become so engrossed with the means as to forget the ends.

Closely related are the three principles that are the children of change: adaptability, flexibility, and stability (Chaps. XIII to XV). They also stem from our cultural heritage. Being of more recent origin they less often well up in the public mind as considerations in establishing that sense of well-being that underlies public approval. Accordingly, since they are related to the achievement of ends as well as to the means, administration may not with impunity allow them to be overlooked. The administrator must be aware of the humanitarian and practical principles to protect himself, to keep himself from understressing means. He must be aware of the principles of change to protect the enterprise from its friends. Therefore, while it would be absurd to say that these change principles are, along with the principles of purpose, the principles of primary importance for administration, it would be fair to say that they are the principles which, if ignored by administration, are most certain to bring disaster to the enterprise, slowly perhaps, but inevitably, and which, if given due consideration, can contribute in a major degree to wholesome conditions in the schools.

But solutions are not achieved without benefit of past knowledge of results achieved under similar circumstances by various solutions, results appraised in terms of the principles outlined above. Such and such a plan looks as if it would serve justice. Has it ever been used? If so, did it actually serve justice? These are the questions that must

be asked of reported research and experience. Chapter XVI seeks to orient the richness of the literature to the processes of solving administrative problems in terms of basic principles.

Finally, there is no simple logic to balancing the demands of various basic principles. Chapter XVII deals with some of the pitfalls and rules of action.

Applying composite balanced judgment to administrative problems is illustrated by Chaps. XVIII and XIX. These chapters apply the basic principles to the appraisal of legal structure, which is too often taken as ultimate fact rather than as an application of principles of the culture, as it should be. There would, of course, be justification for similar treatments of the various functions into which the treatment of administration has customarily been divided.[1] Each of these functions, like the subjects of Chaps. XVIII and XIX, is subject to the play of the system of principles developed here, and all such treatments are a result of a more or less complete application of them. The task would be a lengthy one, however, and it is hoped that the reader, made sensitive to a more inclusive range of criteria, which potentially come into play in considering any phase of administration, and given some degree of skill in invoking them, will find himself possessed of a better kit of thinking tools to enable him to challenge and supplement any treatment that has not invoked all applicable criteria.

COMPARISON WITH PRINCIPLES APPLYING TO SPECIFIC AREAS

A word about the comparison between this system of principles and the various series of principles of administration with which the reader may well be more familiar is presented here. Most of such "principles" have been developed from a consideration of the particular area to which they apply, giving attention to experience on the one hand and a sort of *ad hoc* list of criteria deemed to be applicable to that area on the other. It is as if the student of each area had sought to sound out the character of the cultural soil underlying the particular spot on which he wished to build. Such an attack has often resulted in the neglect of important criteria. Examples of such neglect are pointed out from time to time in this treatment. This book has sought to sound the foundations of the entire school system, providing criteria applicable in varying degrees to all administrative problems.

Accordingly, this book should be useful to the experienced administrator or the advanced student in challenging the completeness of

[1] Such, for example, as MORT, PAUL R., and WALTER C. REUSSER, *Public School Finance*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941.

the various sets of criteria he habitually uses or has come to accept from his study of specialized areas of administration. It seems probable that it would be useful also to the less experienced administrator or the beginning student as a means of broadening the scope of his vision of new problems or of the adequacy of the scope of considerations dealt with in the treatments of specialized areas. As such, this book would serve as a sort of continuous reminder to the practicing administrator and as a handbook of method of study of administrative problems for the student, whether the subject for consideration is the legal structure of the school system, the operational patterns into which much of the work of local administrators is customarily reduced, or the thousand and one decisions made at the discretion of the administrator in his capacity as the person responsible for filling in the gaps of law and regulations and of operational patterns.

CLASSIFICATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

In brief, the principles dealt with in this book are the backdrop for school administration in all its aspects. To assist in bridging the gap between this approach and the customary approach, a list of administrative areas appears below.

Legal Structure

- The character and powers of school districts
- The powers of school boards
- The size, manner of election, etc., of school boards
- The powers of the local electorate
- The legal powers of school boards
- Salary and tenure arrangements
- State participation in school finance
- Local taxation arrangements
- Uses to be made of local governmental agencies
- The character and powers of state departments of education
- The powers and responsibilities of other central agents
- Local rules and regulations governing methods of school-board action, powers of administrative officers, sick leaves, salary schedules, etc.

Operational Patterns

- State requirements for bonding, purchasing, payment of bills, auditing, accounting, method of employment of teachers, attendance, and other responsibilities of pupils and parents, budgeting, hearings, certification
- Local budgetary procedures
- Operational plans
  - For the development and approval of courses of study and curriculums, for the selection of textbooks, for health service, for the emergency care of injured and sick pupils, for extracurricular activities and the handling of funds connected therewith, the organization and scope of the summer school

For determining pupils' admission requirements, for standards of achievement, for plans for promotion, for reports to parents, for school discipline, for school attendance
For the public relations program of the board and the school system
For internal administration; for the operation of the supervisory program
For the selection of teachers, for time and manner of payment of employees, for the bonding of employees; for rules governing absence of employees
For the formulation of the budget, for methods of handling suggestions and complaints from the public
For the operation of plant, for the maintenance of plant, for the use of the plant by other than school groups, for the transportation of pupils
For requisitioning, ordering, and paying for supplies, equipment, and special services, for obtaining bids, for awarding contracts, for educational and financial accounting and inventories of physical properties

Discretionary Acts[1]

All actions of school personnel in the actual operation of the school within the patterns laid down above

The last category includes by far the greatest part of the decisions that are made in the actual operation of schools. It is the flesh and blood of education. The structure and operational patterns are abstractions from vast experience with administrative acts and are therefore subject to the same forces as those that affect the minute-to-minute decisions that make up an operating school system.

It is submitted that the soundness of solutions reached in each of these areas derives in no small part from a balancing of the basic principles and their derivatives dealt with in this book.

Exercises

1. Using the list of phases of school administration given at the conclusion of this chapter as a point of departure, formulate your own outline of the day-to-day and long-range problems of administering a school or a system of schools. Supplement the list by significant items from your own experience. Check for completeness by examination of some of the texts and surveys given below. Try to organize your topics into broad items, but retain cognizance of specific implications. For example:

a. Provision for exceptional children
  (1) Mentally or physically handicapped
  (2) Gifted children
  (3) Socially maladjusted children, etc.
  or

[1] See John A. Sexson, "New Insights into Educational Administration," *Official Report of The American Association of School Administrators*, pp. 74–79, Apr., 1945, for a challenging portrayal of the importance of the discretionary powers of school administrators.

b. Purchasing
   (1) Establishing standards for supplies
   (2) Obtaining bids
   (3) Auditing accounts, etc.

Retain this list for use in connection with the exercises following Chap. XVII. Bear in mind your organization of the broad implications of school administration as you read the remainder of this book. Try to see the principles discussed in this book in practical relation with the scope of school management.

2. Men have always sought to develop objectives or systematic approaches to reasoning or judging. These sometimes take the forms of check lists, codes of conduct, lists of criteria, formulas, etc. Can you from experience, actual or vicarious, suggest some of these?

3. Section C of the bibliography suggests three attempts to reach a systemization of what in this book have been called "Common-sense Principles." The student will profit from dipping into one or more of these works to develop a frame of reference for following the development of this book.

Selected Readings

A. Texts in Administration:

American Association of School Administrators, "School Boards in Action," Washington, D. C.: 1946.

Cubberly, Ellwood P.: *Public School Administration*, rev. ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929.

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Reeder, W. G.: *The Fundamentals of Public School Administration*, rev. ed., New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941.

Strayer, G. D., and N. L. Engelhardt: *Problems in Educational Administration*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925.

B. School Surveys:

Division of Surveys and Field Studies, George Peabody College for Teachers, *Public Schools of Nashville, Tennessee*, Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1931.

Hull, Osman R., and Willard S. Ford: *Survey of the Los Angeles City Schools*, Los Angeles City School District, 1934.

The student may consult any of the reports of city school surveys made by the Division of Field Studies, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College,

Columbia University. These reports have been published by the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. The following survey reports are suggested:

Beaumont, Tex.,	1927
Chicago, Ill.,	1932
Hammonton, N.J.,	1926
Holyoke, Mass.,	1930
Newark, N.J.,	1942
Pittsburgh, Pa.,	1940
Providence, R.I.,	1924
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PART I

Principles of Adequacy—Purposes and Their Conditioners

CHAPTER II

GUIDING PURPOSES OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

To say that practice, present and proposed, should be in conformity with sound educational objectives is to state a truism; yet the objectives are so simple and the practices that have grown up to meet them are so complex that an administrator must continually remind himself that educational practice is not good for its own sake; that no matter to what degree a practice may be modified to make it conform more fully to the wishes, desires, or inclinations of those concerned, care must always be taken to assess the possible effect of the change on the ultimate purpose to be served. It is helpful to remember that the teaching of English, the departmentalization of instruction in the high school, instruction in history, instruction in industrial arts, and all other aspects of the school came in to serve a purpose. They are all devices. If children make cardboard houses in the first grade, or work at reading exercises, or play games, it is to serve some end. This is so obvious as to make the mentioning of it appear absurd. But one who visits schools and asks teachers why they do this or why they do that cannot but be struck with the thought that many of them had never been asked the question and had never asked it of themselves. They took the training to teach music, or industrial arts, or history, or the kindergarten. They accepted the courses of study without question. They carried on their work from day to day without asking the critical, Why? This is less apparent than it used to be. Teachers are better trained for the job, and part of that better training is in the critical analysis of means and ends.

The functions of public education are even less clearly understood by the population as a whole. Each generation has its few who succeed in getting back far enough from the details of reality to obtain some conception of its general pattern. These persons are the flame of the candle of culture. In some generations this flame rises high and men seem near their creator; in others, it languishes, and even the most enlightened seem to have forgotten the purposes of the multitude of practices which they see about them. Men are accordingly always looking backward to some high point. They conjure with the recorded words of the fathers. They honor men whose words were taken lightly in their own generation. In a real sense those who seek to see

the patterns that spread through the multitude of practices are always ahead of their time. They see smoother, more consistent designs; they seek the elimination of conflicting practices. Out of these more perfect designs flow the purposes of public education.

EDUCATION: A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE SEERS AND THE CULTURAL FRONT

Public education has the task of bridging the gap between the potential savagery of every newborn child and the best of the culture of the past. It must give to this generation designs for living more fully in accord with the emergent, conceptual designs than the earlier generations attained. It must share with an ever-increasing proportion of all the people the tools of thinking and living that those blessed with the greatest insight have created. Accordingly, the school administrator and his coworkers are mediating agents between the brave new world and the generality of the present adult population that may have caught but faint glimmers of new horizons. The children who must be dealt with, with their infinite capacities for realization of citizenship in these curious new worlds, are limited in their ability to grow to their potential statures, not only by what they unconsciously absorb from the culture in which they live, but also by the conscious and unconscious limitations which that very culture places upon the schools in achieving braver goals.

For these reasons the schools can have no absolute goals for any generation. They must go as far as they can, considering the physical and psychological limitations of the children themselves, the limitations of available methods, and the limitations imposed by the culture in which they work.

It should not be forgotten that there is nothing in our social system that denies the desirability or the right of persons unusually favored with insight to lighten the way. In fact, there is much in it that cherishes this right. The development of our system of public education is a recognition of the general fundamental interest in the road the flame of the cultural candle illumines. Longfellow in one of his rarer moments wrote:

> Nature has, no doubt, for some wise purpose, placed in their hearts this love of literary labor and seclusion. Otherwise, who would feed the undying lamp of thought? But for such men as these, a blast of wind through the chinks and crannies of this old world, or the flapping of a conqueror's banner, would blow it out forever. The light of the soul is easily extinguished. And whenever I reflect upon these things, I become aware of the great importance, in a nation's history, of the individual fame of scholars and literary men. I

fear that it is far greater than the world is willing to acknowledge; or, perhaps I should say, than the world has thought of acknowledging. Blot out from England's history the names of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton only, and how much of her glory would you blot out with them! Take from Italy such names as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Michelangelo, and Raphael, and how much would be wanting to the completeness of her glory! How would the history of Spain look if the leaves were torn out on which are written the names of Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Calderón? What would be the fame of Portugal without her Camoëns; of France, without her Racine, and Rabelais, and Voltaire; or Germany, without her Martin Luther, her Goethe, and her Schiller?—Nay, what were the nations of old without their philosophers, poets, and historians? Tell me, do not these men, in all ages and in all places, emblazon with bright colors the armorial bearings of their country? Yes, and far more than this; for in all ages and in all places they give humanity assurance of its greatness, and say, "Call not this time or people wholly barbarous; for thus much, even then and there, could the human mind achieve!"[1]

Schools Should Improve Designs for Living

The school administrator who forgets that the professional task is to do the best that possibly can be done to raise this generation to higher levels than were achieved by those who went before risks failure to serve his purpose. The urge to have more abundant life for our children is still stronger than the attitude that "what was good enough for me is good enough for my children." It is deep-rooted. It is our fault if we do not help the public to see that there are always new frontiers for living, whatever may have happened to the geographic frontier.

The school should always be a school on a hill. Out of the valleys into which the light of the sun shines dimly come boys, and girls, and young people up where the sun shines brighter. There they learn how to live according to finer designs. There they learn to want to live according to finer designs. There they form habits of living according to finer designs. Each evening they carry part of this light back into the valley, slowly but surely transforming it. This change in the community itself becomes an index of the effectiveness of the school. We see it in agriculture and homemaking. We should be able to see it in the radio music we hear. We should look for it in home and community artistry, in magazines on the newsstands, in books in the bookstore window, in the patterns of human relationships in the home, on the street, in the community, and in the workshops.

Administration is not the kitchen thing of stocktaking and inter-

[1] Longfellow, Henry W., *Hyperion*, p. 44, New York: John R. Alden, 1885.

viewing taxpayers and parents—not that alone. It has its job in the kitchen but it has, as well, its periods in the front room at the feet of the master. It deals with dollars, yes, but also with prophets' visions, and dreams, and high hopes for tomorrow.

Administration Representative of the Light Givers

Before we discuss the basic principles of purpose which are the lodestone of administration, it is important to realize that those concerned with administration, more than any other persons, are not only representatives of the public and their fellow professional workers alone, but also of those in this generation and in the generations of the past who are and have been the light givers of civilization. Without this realization and the characteristics that go with it, the juggling of principles to make a smoothly operating school system is a form of intellectual mumblety-peg. In the words of Plato, "He who is to be a really good and noble guardian of the state will require to unite in himself philosophy and spirit and swiftness and strength." He was speaking of the ideal soldier for his utopia, and also describing the ideal school administrator for our times.

The administrator is the spark that ignites the power-giving mixture. The power-giving mixture flows from two sources—the basic principles of purpose and the basic principles of common sense. Mixed in proper proportions in the carburetor of balanced judgment, they are made ready for the spark from the spirit of the doer without which all the bravest dreams of men with the greatest insight will not ruffle the leaves of an aspen.

This book does not deal with this spark from the spirit of the doer—it hopefully assumes it. But it is a theme to conjure with. Some poet has written, "Like an army with banners flying is the strength of a great idea." And in Plato's Republic Socrates says, "Have you never observed how invincible and unconquerable is spirit and how the presence of it makes the soul of any creature to be absolutely fearless and indomitable?"

TWO BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PURPOSE

It would be possible to formulate the objectives of education into 10,000 pages. From time to time individuals and groups seek to develop a list short enough to be encompassed quickly and long enough to carry meaning. Such were the seven cardinal principles of secondary education of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association (health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocational

preparation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character). Such is the small volume of the Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy.*[1]

Since the purposes have little practical meaning apart from the devices by which we seek to attain them, no list, short or long, can be more than a series of points near the zero end of a scale of understanding. They draw meaning from the means at hand. For example, if it were our purpose to prepare a traveler for the exigencies of a thousand mile trip made at the fastest possible time, our preparation would have been quite different 40 years ago from what it would be today. What "preparation for the exigencies of a thousand mile trip" means depends upon the mode of transportation. If there is no knowledge of available transportation devices, the objective is almost meaningless. As transportation devices change, meaning of the objective changes. Similarly the meaning of the objective is influenced by the nature of the territory over which we may travel and the physical characteristics of the load to be carried. So also our educational objectives are influenced by our conception of how the human animal learns and of how the social setting in which he lives affects that learning.

An examination of the recognized objectives, with the attempt to rule out the limitations of devices, yields two basic principles:

1. Schools should help maintain and better our social and economic systems.
2. Schools should contribute to the realization of abundant life in as large as possible a percentage of each generation.

MAINTENANCE OF OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM

No matter how anxious a person, or a group, or a people may be to discard an old system of doing things and to put a new one in its place, they must, by the very nature of things, become immediately concerned with ways of resisting change. It is the nature of social changes that for people to have a chance to realize their potentialities, time, sometimes many generations, is essential. In the formulation of our National Constitution, the founders of our system placed all sorts of checks and balances on change. They obviously did not take the point of view that they had a system which was perfect. They made provision for the orderly revision of the system itself. Yet they were so concerned that the system have a chance to prove its worth that revision was not made easy. The consent of three-fourths of all the states is required for an amendment to the United States Constitution.

[1] For references on these and other statements of purpose see the Selected Readings at the end of this chapter.

It is not surprising, then, that in the discussions which were carried on concerning tax-supported education in the first half of the nineteenth century the necessity for safeguarding the system played an important part. There was a realization that knowledge must be diffused; that people must know how to read; that they should understand the forms of self-government. These arguments appeared in the late eighteenth-century discussions of public education that preceded any wide realization of tax-supported schools. Noah Webster said that in England the efforts of the people had to be put into fighting against the encroachment of kings and barons, whereas in the United States it had to be used to create an efficient instrument of government. Again he said that to consider the achievement of freedom as a closed task is to destroy it. Samuel Knox said that there must be no halfhearted acceptance of the duty to educate if democracy is to prevail. The emphasis given to the teaching of patriotism in the eighteenth-century schools and to mandatory legislation in many states, with respect to the teaching of the Constitution, may be taken as a reflection of a partial realization of the implications of the basic principle that public education must contribute to the stability of our social system. A variety of principles flow from this basic principle.

A Deep Regard for Our System of Government

The schools should impart a deep regard for our system of government as one that has contributed much and has had immeasurable potentialities for promoting the life, liberty, and happiness of this and future generations. This attitude should be such as to make the proposal to change that system one of most careful and far-reaching consideration. It follows that in making each generation realize how the potentialities for modification are part and parcel of our social system, we should take care to instill an appreciation of the fruits of the system which have been so great and the unrealized potentialities which are still so great, that change should be thought of as perfecting rather than modifying the system.

This principle is far easier to state than to achieve. So many people are obsessed by the notion that a thing is either all good or all bad that even a small amount of criticism may cause them to lose faith in the whole design, or perhaps more likely, to charge that the reformer has lost faith. It should be our purpose to attain as nearly as possible in each generation something of that balanced judgment which led the men in the Revolution and in the Constitutional Convention to risk their all for a system and yet maintain that the system would not necessarily be the ultimate best. This kind of thinking is

rare in any generation. Obviously, from the differences of opinion on what should be done with respect to teaching about this government and other governments in recent years, it is clear that we have not as yet generally achieved a very satisfactory method of meeting the demands of this principle.

Characteristics Necessary for the Social System

A second principle flowing from this basic principle is that the school should create in the human material that comes to it those skills, knowledges, understandings, and habits of action necessary to the operation of the social system. This should be interpreted broadly enough to include not only what we may customarily think of as citizenship qualities, but also those qualities necessary for a social system more broadly conceived. Not only does the school have the responsibility for having children become interested in the mechanics of government, but it also has the responsibility for guiding children and youth in the habits of living which recognize the basic democratic objective of regard for others.

Characteristics Requisite for the General Welfare

A third principle is that the school should create in the human material which comes to it the skills, abilities, knowledges, and attitudes requisite for the general welfare. Under this would be subsumed vocational skills, such as the ability to read directions; basic mathematics; skills with machines and other vocational skills and knowledges; intelligence (used in the popular sense); and the physical, mental, and moral stamina necessary to a strong people. This principle would cover also those attitudes and habits of thought on which our social and economic system is based, such as regard for the rights of others, which is so necessary in the kind of living that our social system seeks to promote, and regard for obligations, which is basic to our whole system of credit.

Economic Productivity

The concept of economic creativeness, which is a facet of this subsidiary principle, will be found in the work of most of the economists since Adam Smith. Only recently, however, has there been much recognition of it on the part of the profession and very little on the part of the public. Harold Clark first brought together the statements of various economists concerning the productiveness of

education in a monograph published in 1928.[1] A far more extended document covering this matter was produced by the Educational Policies Commission in 1940.[2]

The typical attitude towards the relation of education to our economy is well illustrated in a statement recently noted, to this effect: "These people are poor and therefore ignorant." This is the attitude which we so frequently take. Poor states and poor communities have poor education as a result of being poor. If we are to give any credence at all to the statements of the economists, we could as truly say: "These people are ignorant and therefore poor." One of the outlets of a community or state from poverty is to direct more of its income to the education of the oncoming generation. Just as peoples have chosen for a reason to buy capital goods or guns instead of butter, a people may, if it chooses, have education for a few years in order that it may have butter in the future.

A few of the reasons why mass education is economically productive can be seen when we compare the value of raw materials with that of the completed manufactured article. A very large percentage of the cost of manufacture is for labor, and in turn a very large percentage of the cost of labor is for skill, built up in no small degree through the educational process within the schools. Even where the schools provide no more than reading, writing, and arithmetic, they have gone a long way in providing what is necessary to obtain many specialized skills in a very short time. Take away from a people their ability to read, and write, and compute, and you destroy a very large part of their economic productiveness.

Again, compare the modern farmer of the Middle West with the farmer of 1900. In 1900 he planted the crops he knew about in the soil and performed those acts of husbandry which had come down to him from the Stone Age. He failed to rotate his crops and therefore destroyed the soil. He raised a little wheat for his own bread, hay for his horses, and corn to feed his pigs. He sold the pigs and the excess of the wheat, hay, and corn. With the coming of the improved understanding of soils and plants following the establishment of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations, he began scientifically to select his seed, rotate his crops, introduce soil-building crops, and finally, in recent years, to modify the crops in the light of discoveries of

[1] CLARK, HAROLD F., *The Economic Effects of Education as Shown by Statements of Economists*, Bloomington: Bureau of Cooperative Research, Indiana University, 1928.

[2] Educational Policies Commission, *Education and Economic Well-being in American Democracy*, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1940.

commercial uses of plants unknown in 1900. All the information that might have been obtained in the laboratories and on the experimental farms would have been largely useless except for the educational process in and out of the schools by which the farmer became its master. Hence it may be truly said that the increased productiveness of the Middle Western farm, the stopping of the tobogganing of the soil to destruction, is in no small degree attributable to education, not only to direct education but also to the fact that the schools gave the farmers the ability to read, to write, and to figure.

Skill in Working Together

Let us look for a moment at the other side of this picture. There has been vast economic loss not only during the war but also in the years preceding because of the fact that our people have not been skilled in working together. Much of the conflict between management and labor has been due to lack of education in the process of communication and working together in groups, as well as to a lack of understanding of basic economics. It is a source of never-ending wonder that labor and management, coming up through the same classrooms, playing on the same sand lot, so often find themselves at swords point over the conference table. This is, of course, not all due to lacks in education, but it is certainly due in some degree to lack of patterns of human relationship which can be obtained only by a process of growth—or education.

Humanitarian Characteristics

A fourth principle is that the schools should seek to create those human qualities without the realization of which the social system is a failure. If the social system has for its purpose the promotion of life, liberty, and happiness of individuals, it must in the long run stand or fall on its success in attaining this objective. The school system is the only universal device which deals with every person during certain years of his life. It is not the only device. We have a multitude of voluntary agencies that are a part of our social system and that seek to serve the objectives of that system in one way or another. We have health services, governmentally operated, that protect us against epidemics. We have institutions that care for the lame, the halt, and the blind. We have prisons for the segregation of those with whom the system proved to be such a failure as to make the maintenance of their liberty unwise. But the public school system is the only single, vast, far-reaching agency which is set up to deal with the

entire population, not *en masse,* but as individuals growing from an infancy that has potentialities for any kind of a social system toward the realization of the types of persons conceived as good by our own social system. It is essentially creative in its purpose; it is not rooted in social pathology as are prisons and police systems, for example.

THE REALIZATION OF ABUNDANT LIFE

If we consider the nature of the appeal of the basic principle discussed above, we see that psychologically the appeal is to the carriers of the light and to those who under their leadership have taken up the burden of maintaining society as more than an unconscious comingling of blind urges. The number to whom such a reasoned appeal is authentic is normally relatively small. To the great mass of the population in any generation the proof of the pudding is in the eating. They are not content to make sacrifices of superhighways, or the latest gadget on an automobile, or of other immediate goods, for something so far away, so "theoretical," as they say. While a small group in the long run has a tremendous influence in the course of history by the persistence of its ideals, the direction taken at any given moment is determined by the greater mass whose judgment is made in terms of more immediate good. To say to them that as many as possible of the children of this generation must live abundantly if our social system is to be maintained sounds like a threat at best or a meaningless jargon at worst. To say to these same persons that we must provide these opportunities in order that our children and our neighbor's children may live more abundantly will strike a responsive chord.

The appeal to the individual good is none the less authentic. To respond to the appeal that my children, and my neighbor's children, and the stranger's children shall have their chance is every bit as noble and in the long run fundamentally as important as to respond to the appeal that these children shall have their chance *in order that our social system may prosper.*

To be realistic, therefore, we must raise our fourth subprinciple above to the level of a basic principle. We must take the earth out of the constellation of the sun and consider it as the center of its own planetary system. We must move into the general public's frame of reference. To do this we must restate our second basic principle to read as follows: Each and every child and young person shall have the fullest possible opportunities for the development of those skills, habits, knowledges, and attitudes which will help make him a successful, happy person, now and throughout his life.

Individual Potentialities and Freedoms

There is little, if anything, in the practice of our schools which cannot be appraised in whole, or in part, under this basic principle.

We believe that each man should rise to his full potentialities and that along with this he should have certain freedoms of choice and movement, thought and speech (liberty). In addition, we are coming more fully to realize the potentialities of education in developing personal economic effectiveness. With respect to the latter, we are gradually discovering that if adequate results do not come from education to care for the needs felt by the less secure[1] in freedom from fear and freedom from want, tremendously expensive political adjustments will arise in the attempt to meet them.

As we analyze this we see the justification for an understanding of the culture of the past and of the problems of the present; a mastery of the skills that will make for personal adjustments in the economic and social sphere; attitudes of regard for the personalities of others which is the fundamental tenet of the democratic way of life. These things we believe. Our professional literature states these beliefs. The actual activities of the school are all aimed at these objectives, successfully or otherwise. Most of the activities of administration are subsidiary to them.[2]

How they are carried out, the particular form they take, how fast they are realized, are influenced by the basic principles that are derived from the mass culture, the "humanitarian" group, the "public sense of the practical" group, and the "tempo" group.

SETTING THE PATTERNS OF THE GOOD LIFE

Whether we look at the welfare of the individual either as a subsidiary principle under the *maintenance of the social system* or as a basic principle in itself, we face a difficult task in steering a course through the vastly detailed pronouncements as to what constitutes an education fitted to promote the welfare of the individual. It is this area that the philosopher has marked out for his own, and it is in this

[1] See Whitehead, Alfred N., *Adventure of Ideas*, pp. 83–84, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

[2] Any group that has the authority to bring together an aggregation of people, such as the personnel necessary for the operation of the school system, inherits along with this authority certain responsibilities to these persons as persons, entirely without regard to the use to which their labors are put. Even the schools cannot use their employees as means only. These persons as persons must be considered as ends. This eternal conflict, so well put by Kant, is one of many which requires a nicety of balanced judgment of the administrator of public institutions not required of administrators in institutions organized for personal profit.

area that all men consider themselves philosophers. The administrator and his coworkers can turn to a thousand statements that are colored by the background of the experience of the person making it. The sociologist interprets education in terms of the power of his discipline; the businessman and industrialist in terms of the qualities they would would like to see in their employees; the anthropologist in terms of his concern with culture patterns, etc.

This is the confusion, as Meiklejohn has pointed out,[1] that western civilization fled to when it challenged the monopoly of the church in determining the characteristics of the good personal life. Only less is our confusion when it comes to determining the characteristics of the good citizen.

From the thousands of books, and pronouncements of individuals, and groups, the administrator and his coworkers should not look for the one best answer. For the words, the criteria, the concepts of thinking, he may turn to the philosophers. However, the people of the community in which the administrator works will have the final say as to what makes the good citizen and what makes the good personal life. Whether or not they make it with the guidance of the philosophers will be due in many, perhaps most, instances to the leadership of the professional group. In the American system of home rule for education, the people will not only determine the nature of the school in the last analysis but will also determine the character of the environmental surroundings, themselves no mean school in the shaping of the character of the growing generation.

To most of those who have had dealings with the American public as represented in communities of workable size, this is not particularly discouraging. Most have not worn the dark glasses of Matthew Arnold and therefore do not see as uppermost: ignorance, passion, violence, envy, brutality, covetousness, hate, meanness, and cruelty. They see the spirit of justice, of regard for the personality of others, of confidence in stability, of belief in progress, of compassion for the underprivileged. They see that these positive characteristics, potentially dominant under the leadership of the more farsighted, will be found in any sizable community.[2] They will see resulting, on the whole, a safer and nonetheless more inspiring picture of the good individual life and of the good citizen than those arrived at by the logic

[1] MEIKLEJOHN, ALEXANDER, *Education between Two Worlds*, New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1942.

[2] Why do some communities rise to great heights and then sink into periods of decay? Could it be because their leaders have lost sight of the dynamics of an appeal to the horizons of the people so that community spirit subsides into the state Arnold so vividly describes?

of the philosopher. The members of the community who vote on the school budget or vote for members of the board of education may not be able to express these patterns in words, but they can express them in votes, a mode of expression requiring no extensive erudition. The members of the community, through their channels of expression, can voice a sense of adequacy or inadequacy even though they may not have the art to express it in well-chosen words.

Sources of Insight

The Public. The suggestion offered here, then, is that the public school administrator should seek patterns of the good life and of the good citizen in the thinking of those immediately about him. To do this he must have the knack of finding what Dewey has called "the best and wisest" and the insight to seek to be surrounded by a corps of teachers richly grounded in those designs for the good life painfully wrought by the seers of all ages, and broadly experienced in the multitudinous facets of the culture in which they must work. Such teachers, many or few, and the more farsighted among the community will have no great difficulty in setting goals that they can agree upon with a minimum of compromise. Such established goals will have the advantage of understanding by both community and staff, which will make achievements more likely and will help keep the detailed practice of the school from forgetting its purpose. So viewed, how can one be other than thankful that in the development of the American school system these vital questions of goals and means of reaching them have been left so fully to the individual communities?

Above it has been said that the responsibility is chiefly that of the administrator and of his more farseeing colleagues to bring into the community the light that shines from the seers of all ages to the good personal life and the good citizen.

The Philosophers. The two basic principles of purpose appearing in this chapter are an application to the educational situation of what Jeremy Bentham called "utility," what Adam Smith called "self-interest," what Sismondi called "the common advantage," and what Dewey speaks of as "use and enjoyment." In Dewey's use of the term "use and enjoyment of the objects, activities, products . of the world in which individuals live," he provides a perfect setting for the decisions that communities have to make with respect to education: what they shall get for their money, whether they shall spend more money to get something useful, something that they can enjoy. These "somethings" in the field of education are what education has to offer. They can all be finally reduced to those things

which will promote the life, liberty, and happiness of children, now and in the future; of the adults of the community, now and in the future; or of those who make up the larger community—the state or the nation—now and in the future. All our philosophical, sociological, economic, and other considerations finally must go through these channels.

Lighthouse Communities. The philosophers are not the only sources of light. We should not overlook the challenge of those favored communities that have provided staffs of unusual excellence and in their own population have an unusual number of persons of broad experience, background, and insight. We should become increasingly concerned in seeking the guidance that comes from these happy combinations of humanity—not as something to copy slavishly, but rather as insight to be considered as we should consider the insight of seers. The results of the thinking of these groups, as well as the heritage from our philosophers, may well stimulate thinking persons in far less favored communities to rise far above the level that would otherwise be theirs. We should look to these communities as shrines; we should make more use of them.

Working with the Public

If the reading of meaning into our basic principle is to be a joint enterprise of profession and public, professional leadership must be more concerned than in the past in seeking to put the works of philosophers into such terms as will be understood by laymen. The rich resources must be translated from the language of the profession to the language of the public. One key for such translation is to listen for the questions which the public asks.

Far too much of the discussion of education, even in the public press, is couched in terms of professional controversy. If the public is interested in having our citizenship an intelligent citizenship, we must not say that, according to the psychologist, intelligence is largely a matter of nativity; that the intelligence quotient cannot be markedly lifted. Such a statement is beside the point; in the sense that it is meant it is not news to the public. In the broad terms in which the public looks at humanity, morons have stayed morons, geniuses have stayed geniuses, and ordinary men have stayed ordinary men. But they know also that of two men with similar talents, one may make more effective use of his talents. They are interested in having the schools help them make use of their talents and help them meet the situations about them. They are accordingly concerned with the skills of communication. They believe that knowledge has power in

raising the effective intelligence of human beings. They can readily see that some people can work well with others while some cannot, and that there are tricks to it which can be learned. Accordingly, it would seem far more wise to use the word "intelligence" in the public sense rather than in the psychologist's sense, leaving the psychological definition for utilization with our fellows in the profession.

Such an attempt to shift from the pedagogical frame of reference to the colloquial was made in the classifications used in the brochure entitled *What Education Our Money Buys.*[1] This brochure sought to describe schools under twelve classifications each of which would be meaningful to laymen. No doubt a much better way of doing it will evolve, but as a first attempt this classification is suggestive. These twelve classifications are not purposes; they are classifications of characteristics which suggest purpose. Nine of them have to do with characteristics of the schools themselves. They are: *Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Basic Knowledge for Americans, Learning to Think, Exploring Pupils' Abilities, The Growth of Character, Health and Safety of Children, Homes for America, The World of Work,* and *Making Citizens.* The other three have to do with the mechanism of the school—its dynamics, its administration. They are: *Regard for the Individual, The School and the Community,* and *The Teacher and the School.*

To the profession they give a more or less clear picture of the good citizen and the good person; in fact, everything in these twelve categories could be placed in three categories which would perhaps be more meaningful to the professional worker: (1) skills and knowledge essential to effective living as a person and as a citizen; (2) growth characteristics to be considered by the school in evolving the good citizen and the good person; (3) the dynamic pattern of the school as an institution seeking to provide the requisite skills, knowledge, and personal growth.

RELATION OF PRINCIPLE OF PURPOSE TO OTHER PRINCIPLES

In building the picture of the school, far more than the principles of purpose have to be taken into account. The picture of the school is, in fact, a synthesis of the four systems of principles dealt with in this book. It is more human, more friendly, than the mere statements of purpose, and there is a temptation, therefore, to dwell with phases not closely related to purpose. The democratic principles of a good school may be so appealing, the lovely richness of the designs for living

[1] *What Education Our Money Buys,* based on a study of Returns for Money Spent carried out under the auspices of the Educational Conference Board of New York State, Albany, N.Y.: Educational Conference Board, 1943.

which represent part of the basic knowledge may be so stimulating, that we may wish to build tabernacles and remain with them always. But the administrator must not be confused by these humanities. He must remember that, in the ultimate, the school must be judged in terms of our two basic principles of purpose.

APPEAL TO PURPOSE IN TIMES OF STRESS

It is well to hold in mind that these two basic principles have much in common; that they frequently provide alternative orientations of a given problem. In most times and with most people the orientation provided by the second basic principle is the more realistic. The more generalized appeal does not stir them.

There are times, however, such as war periods or depressions, when we all become more conscious of the remote problem of maintaining our social system. Such times provide us not only the opportunity but also the urge for an orientation of our problems with a more complete, if more austere, conceptual design. We feel more sharply the dangers from groups of persons in whom the schools and their companion institutions have failed to instill that regard for the personalities of others which is basic to democratic living. We see more clearly the shortcomings of a school system that does not give adequate care to health and to vocational training. We sense the lack in a people of "the spirit that prevaileth" as we never do in normal times.

The flare-up on the New York Times history survey in the early forties is an example of how under times of great national stress the public may become conscious of the more remote principle—the safeguarding of the social forms. Probably no such flare-up could have been caused by similar information on science, or music, or even health. The teaching of history has been coupled in the public mind for generations with the teaching of patriotism and citizenship. State constitutions have required the teaching of history. Many states have statutes requiring the teaching of history. It is only because we have tended in recent years to orient the teaching of history along with many other subjects in promoting the welfare of the individual that we find ourselves surprised by the amount of heat generated by this discussion. It suggests the possibility that it may not be wise always to select the easier of the two principles for the explanation of an educational practice, even when such choice is legitimate.

SUMMARY

Purposes are often overlooked in dealing with the interesting detail of method. This is even truer of the public than of the profession.

School administration has the responsibility of keeping purposes to the fore.

The educational system has the function of bridging the gap between the thinking of the occasional seer and the front of general progress. It should seek to improve the level of living. In a sense, administrators and their coworkers are representative of the light givers.

In reducing purposes to meaningful scope, the following are presented:

Basic Principles:

1. Schools should help to maintain and better our social and economic system.
2. Schools should contribute to the realization of abundant life in as large as possible a percentage of each generation.

Subsidiary to the first of the two basic principles are

a. The schools should impart a deep regard for our system of government.
b. The schools should create in the human material it serves those skills, knowledges, etc., necessary to the operation of the social system.
c. The schools should create in the human material it serves those skills, knowledges, etc., required for the general welfare.

The second basic principle is a restatement of *c* above in terms of the individuals. It can be broadened to include most purposes.

In deciding on the life patterns to seek, the community is at one and the same time the final judge and a rich asset. Administrators and their coworkers may bring to bear also the insight of philosophers and the experience of other school systems.

While usually the public appeal of the second of the two basic principles is greater, times of stress tend to shift the point of view to the first one—the social good.

Exercises

1. Presumably, all aspects of administration are related more or less directly to the achievement of the educational purposes. Select three varied administrative activities from the list you formulated in connection with Chap. I and show how they contribute to the achievement of the principles of purpose. The references listed under Chap. I may be of help to you in extending your knowledge of the particular functions you choose.

2. How do the following definitions of educational purpose relate to the organization of purposes as given in this chapter?

a. "Education is the development of the whole man."—Comenius
b. "Education aims at the realization of the typical man."—Payne
c. "The end of education is triple: to develop mental faculties, to communicate knowledge, to mold character."—Thiry

d. "Do not train boys to learning by force and harshness, but lead them by what amuses them, so that they may better discover the bent of their minds."—Plato

e. "I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."—Milton

3. In your estimation, which of the principles of purpose is receiving the greatest emphasis at this time in:

a. Professional literature?
b. Public thinking?
c. Educational practice?

4. Justify some subject-matter field or school activity you teach or conduct or believe should be taught or conducted.

5. What mores of our American life should the schools maintain? What are some of the dynamic phases of educational purpose? Expand in terms of practical policies how education can serve the maintenance and improvement of our social system.

6. Write a short paragraph giving the arguments (in terms of purpose) for or against some administrative arrangement (*e.g.*, homogeneous grouping or remedial classes) in language understandable to the average citizen.

7. This chapter set up as a goal of education the "abundant life." Consult Kilpatrick's Source Book in the Philosophy of Education (listed in Selected Readings below) and draw from Chap. VIII of that book an acceptable definition of "the good life." If no quotation meets your philosophy, verbalize your own best thinking.

8. What should the community know about the purposes of its schools? What would you tell them? How would you go about delivering that message?

9. Resource Book. This book seeks to dip into the underlying structure on which the administration of schools rests. It is not its purpose to present information as much as concepts basic to school administration. Accordingly, its value will be in the pattern of thinking about administrative problems distilled from it by the reader. In the process of achieving this the student will dip into many facets of the culture as they are reflected in the great books and in current periodicals. It is suggested that a careful choosing of quotations not only from the educational literature but from the literature reflecting our culture—its roots in the past, its manifestations in the present—assembled together in a small notebook will prove of value to the administrator. It will likely serve not only for occasional checking of his thought patterns in future years but also as a resource book from which he can draw materials for addresses to teachers, pupils, parents, and citizen groups in general. In developing this resource book, the student should apply the "principle of parsimony." A couple of pages of well-chosen materials on the subject of each of the chapters of this book should be sufficient, and following each subdivision there should be three or four blank pages for additions through the years. If the book grows very fast or very slowly in the years to come the student may well be suspicious of his power to discriminate. The following bases for selecting material have been found helpful:

For the Principles and their Conditioners (Chaps. II–V)

a. Clear-cut statements of the basic principles and the principal applications as they appeal to the student.

b. The most striking statements obtained in the literature, for future reference.

For the Common-sense Principles (Chaps. VII–XV)

a. Clear-cut statement of the principle as a sharp tool for the administrator's kit.

b. Striking applications to school administration as observed in the student's experience.

c. Quotations from great literature showing the roots of the principle in the culture.

d. Striking applications of the principle to other phases of life (that is, other than school administration) as revealed in the daily press. (It should be remembered that if these principles were lost, the press and all other human institutions would have their foundations swept away. Men's actions are continually being appraised in this crucible; they are society's instrument for separating the gold from the dross.)

The "resource book" should not be confused with a class notebook. The notes you jot down in class or from your reading should form a kind of day book from which you draw the best, the significant, for your "resource book."

10. As a companion exercise the student may select a topic of administration from the list given in Chap. I and make it a subject of continuous study throughout the course. In connection with each chapter he should make notes on how the subject of the chapter illuminates the problem. Early in the term he should collect a bibliography dealing with it and get all the light he can from the available thought and evidence, appraising it in the light of each principle as he proceeds and in light of the rules for interpretation of empirical evidence given in Chap. XVI. When the student reaches Chap. XVII he should have the materials for a significant paper on the subject—an example of balanced judgment (see Exercises at the end of Chap. XVII).

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CHAPTER III

PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF PURPOSE

In the preceding chapter it was implied that most of the discussions of educational purpose are greatly colored by the consciousness of means at hand for achieving them. Controversies between individuals and groups seem to turn more frequently on the means than on the ends to be achieved; also, each individual or group tends to judge the other as being concerned solely with method rather than with purpose. For example, the subject-matter specialist, convinced that his own subject matter is a powerful instrument for achieving the ultimate purposes, is apt to depreciate those aspects of method which have to do with growth of personality. He may charge the educationalists with being too much concerned with how the subject matter is taught. At the same time he is assuming that all that really matters is the mastery of the subject matter. In this assumption he is dangerously near elevating his method of education (the instilling of certain items of knowledge) from its true level of means to the heights of purpose.

THE ADMINISTRATOR AS INTERPRETER

Accordingly, the administrator, sitting as he does in a sort of judicial position, will do well to remember that practically any statement of purpose, other than such bare statements as are given of the two basic principles discussed in the preceding chapter, are heavily weighted by assumptions or beliefs with respect to the efficacy of certain selected aspects of methodology. These assumptions may be classified with respect to the nature of learning, assumptions with respect to trends in our socioeconomic life, and assumptions as to the ready availability of educational devices.

As we compare the pattern of public education today with that of half a century ago, we see many changes which can be traced to discoveries in the psychology of learning. Some of these can likewise be traced to public demand arising from socioeconomic changes. The psychologist may rejoice that the work of the stalwarts in his field has had such far-reaching effects on practice. At the same time, the sociologist may point out, with perhaps equal or greater justification, that these changes are social phenomena that just happened to be in line with good psychology. These counterclaims need not

greatly concern the school administrator. His part is to help guide the social demands in line with good psychology. He cannot be happy in being a party to the formulation of an educational program, however responsive it may seem to be to a public urge, unless he has the assurance in his own mind that it is in accordance with what is known about the learning mechanism of human beings, any more than he can be happy with responses to public urges which are not in keeping with the basic principles of purpose. It will be noted that this places the administrator between the front of public demand and the greatest insights of our philosophers and scientists. If he is to maintain his position and be other than a servant to shifting public opinion he must have some way of appraising the psychological soundness of proposed action. He may not be able always to stem the tide away from sound thinking, but he can hardly be forgiven if he responds to the tide in ignorance of sound thinking.

NEED OF SIMPLIFICATION

The vast accumulation of research in the first half century of the application of scientific method to the field of psychology seems to make amazing demands upon school administrators. Many may say that if this position is to be taken it will be impossible for one man to know enough to be an administrator. We can admit this just as we can admit today that no man really can know enough to be a physician, and nevertheless go forward with the task of doing all we can to master the complex elements involved in the work of the school administrator.

The obvious conclusion to the above seems to be that every administrator must be a master of all the research in educational psychology. However, a simpler approach is proposed: to seek out of the scientific work of these fifty years the major discoveries which have been fruitful in broadly challenging educational practice or which appear to have promise in this direction. Out of the tens of thousands of pages of research problems in the field of psychology of learning covering the infant years of the development of a science we can hardly expect to have more than a few strategically challenging discoveries.[1] If we

[1] A possible explanation for the seeming paucity of principle drawn out of the field that has been most fruitful in educational research is the great degree to which psychological research has dealt with the pathology of education: reading disabilities, personal maladjustment, etc. These are matters that concern the day-to-day patterns of operation of individual teachers and guidance officers but only here and there affect the general pattern of the educational system. Administration is concerned with them but on a level of detail quite different from that influenced by the principles presented here.

can isolate these so that they become useful instruments in appraising practices, the administrator can then forget entirely or leave to his leisure hours the multitudinous small research problems and the resounding controversies which are the mixed concomitants of the development of a lively science.

Somewhere, somehow, there should be those in the field of administration who are observing the research and controversies so that the field may be alert to the emergence of new principles, but it should hardly be the responsibility of the practitioner with his many responsibilities in other areas to follow these controversies. This task cannot be left to the psychologists for they are not sufficiently well in touch with the patterns of public education to judge the strategic importance of their own research. Neither should it be left as it has been to every practitioner to screen out of the activities of the laboratories those things which may be pertinent to education in the thousands of individual communities in America.

In the remainder of this chapter an attempt is made to draw out these important findings, which should be made a part of the working capital of every school administrator; which should be present in his consciousness as a backdrop to every decision made involving change in human beings whether those concerned be pupils, teachers, janitors, board members, or citizens in general. Only five such principles are presented, but they are not put forward as an exclusive set of principles. A simple discovery made in somebody's laboratory yesterday may add another. Other simple discoveries made 40 years ago may deserve a place in this list. Accordingly, the administrator is asked to accept these five as a nucleus of what is bound to be, in our lifetime at least, a limited list of psychological principles, adding to it any that in his judgment belong. We in school administration, as must those concerned with the practical operation of any social function, must face this task with the confidence expressed in Kipling's jingle:

> When 'Omer smote 'is bloomin' lyre,
> 'E'd 'eard men sing by land an' sea;
> An' what 'e thought 'e might require,
> 'E went an' took—the same as me!

CHALLENGE TO FORMAL DISCIPLINE

The first of these far-reaching principles gleaned from the psychology of learning may be stated simply as follows:

1. You can't train the mind like a muscle. Lifting mathematical weights does not help you much in lifting social weights.

There is no simple generally applicable curriculum that prepares for life by training the mind.

Studies in Transfer

This is derived from the studies on the transfer of training which challenged the accuracy of the theory of formal discipline just as Pasteur's discovery that gravy cut off from contact with dust in the air does not spontaneously generate maggots. Again, like Pasteur's discovery, the research on which it is based was absurdly simple. It came out of no great fund set up by a foundation but rather out of a few laboratory experiments. While this discovery was made more that 40 years ago, there is still controversy over it, just as there was controversy over Pasteur's critical experiment for over a quarter of a century after it was made. Pasteur had thought through this problem of spontaneous generation to the point that he could test it with a simple, critical experiment involving a few cents worth of material. The medical world in general could not accept it because they had not reduced the thousands of pages written on spontaneous generation to its critical assumptions. Similarly, psychologists and laymen including the educational profession found it difficult to divest their own thinking of the mass of writing based on the assumption of formal discipline to the point that they could see the critical nature of simple experiments on transfer of training.

There is no discovery in psychology that has been more costly, and for this if no other reason, the school administrators must be concerned with it. If psychologists are not yet satisfied with the conclusiveness of these critical experiments, school administrators and the public should rise up and demand that they carry through adequate experimentation to settle this issue of major educational strategy without further delay. Let them drop all the little tactical problems if need be for a decade and settle this problem. For, as William F. Russel has pointed out, if the theory of formal discipline is in fact tenable, we can reduce the cost of American education by vast amounts.

These statements should not be left unsupported.

Formal discipline was the theory that rationalized the belief in the disciplinary effects of certain well-organized and difficult subjects. Under the heading, "Transfer of Training," the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* traces this theory back to the Greeks. It says: "The Greeks, for instance, considered that any training affected the whole of mental life." This excellent discussion carries the evolution of such thinking through the breaking down of the unitary nature of the minds of the Greeks into unitary faculties in the Middle Ages.

Several centuries then went past before the unitary character of faculties was challenged. William James seems to have been the first person to express doubts of it, at least the first one noticed by the psychologist. The results of some simple, unscientific experiments of James appear in his *Principles of Psychology* published in 1890. Really critical experiments were those carried on by Thorndike and Woodworth, reported in the *Psychological Review* in 1901. There have been other studies in the intervening years. Sandiford in the conclusion of his article in the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* summarized his own judgment as follows: "The author's final judgment, after scanning the 810 studies in his bibliographical file, is that transfer is a real factor in education. Otherwise the functioning of school training in life would be seriously limited. But the amount of transfer is usually so small that it is better to depend on direct training of an ability rather than hope to obtain it indirectly by transfer."

From the scientific standpoint, therefore, it appears that the practitioner, however he may want to argue with the details of various studies, should be bound to place no great weight upon the disciplinary effect per se of any school subject until and unless the weight of the evidence is overthrown by more critical scientific investigation.

Because of its far-reaching significance for the school administrator, it would be wise for the school administrator to familiarize himself with critical studies. He will find them well summarized in the article entitled "Transfer of Training" which appears in the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research.*[1]

Differential Effects of Intelligence

It is of interest that the acceptance of the challenge of these experiments is slower among college and university preparatory schools than in public education in general. It is an established fact that there is more transfer in the case of highly intelligent persons. If the explanation of such transfer as there is, is examined, it seems to be a matter of common sense to expect the more intelligent to profit by a study of materials that to the ordinary mind are unrelated to reality. For intelligence, as the psychologist uses it, is closely associated with the ability to see relationships. Doubtless teachers in high schools down through the ages have been greatly influenced by observations on the utility of their subject made in later years by former students far more intelligent than they were themselves. What was probably a

[1] SANDIFORD, PETER, "Transfer of Training," *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, Walter S. Monroe, Editor, pp. 1306–1312, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941.

recognition of identical elements to these brilliant persons was then interpreted by the teachers as some mysterious "disciplinary" power.

As a wider range of the population came into the secondary schools where the formal discipline theory was more leaned upon than in the elementary schools, its failure with the run-of-mine individual became so apparent that without necessarily ceasing to give lip service to the theory, other reasons were found for bringing in subject matter of known utility. Accordingly, it would seem that school administrators should not be too disturbed by the occasional statement coming from masters of select private schools and presidents of select colleges that shows them still clinging to the formal discipline theory.

Cost of Adaptation to This Discovery

Above the statement was made that the abandonment of the formal discipline theory has had a large influence on increasing school costs. This can be readily demonstrated. If schools could be operated on the theory of formal discipline, complete faith could be placed in the instilling in all minds of exactly the same subject matter. Individual differences would only have to be recognized by allowing differences in time. The very bright could go through the schools fast; the very dull could go through slowly. The achievement of the particular subject matter would be a simple goal, the master key to the development of the good life. When we abandon this simple belief and accept in its place the necessity for teaching persons to think in a thousand situations, we have not only greatly increased the range of the educational offering and hence the cost, but we have multiplied many times over the problems of adjusting to individual differences.

Administrative Policy

The wise administrator will accept this as essential just as the wise doctors came to accept the fundamental soundness of the germ theory of disease. At the same time he will be intelligently alert to the possibility of discovering educational sulfa drugs. As the infant field of psychological science evolves, it is highly probable that the learning process will prove to be far more complex than it was viewed either by the believers in formal discipline or by those who have rejected formal discipline. In the meantime, however, schools must be operated in terms of the best available present knowledge and should not be allowed to follow, other than in the most experimental fashion, experimental hunches simply because one of them may prove ten or twenty or fifty years from now to have been nearer the truth than the best science we have had at our command today.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

Our second principle, like the first one, goes back to the turn of the century. It has to do with individual differences and is closely related to the first. It may be stated as follows:

> 2. Individuals differ in all sorts of ways: capacities, past growth, points at which growth is now ready to occur. To provide a wholesome growing situation a school must have a wide variety of open doors leading by varied paths toward the desired goals.

Probably the studies on individual differences are better known to the school administrators than any other educational studies. The school administrator certainly has no difficulty in recognizing the fact that there are tremendous individual differences. In all probability there was a pretty wide consciousness of individual differences before the studies at the turn of the century that served to dramatize this phenomenon of human nature. The fact of these differences, however, would not be particularly disturbing so long as the theory of formal discipline dominated thinking. The selected hierarchy of subjects and of subject matter within subjects was considered of so great importance that the individual had to master them to be educated. He either could do it or he could not. If he could not, he was not of the elect. Some consideration might be given to differences in allowing some to go fast and some to go slow. Hence, at the turn of the century semi-annual promotions were introduced encouraging teachers to cause more children to repeat and thereby to have a greater chance to master the hierarchy quite as truly as permitting the bright to skip materials which they had already mastered in some degree. It was only when this faith in the mystical powers of certain subjects was shattered that individual differences began to be worked upon seriously as a reason for major adjustments within the schools themselves. Theretofore individuals were expected to adjust to the system; now came the movements leading to adjustment of the system to individuals.

The problem of adjusting the schools to individual differences took on new and extended meaning as the conception of the importance of growth and personality began to take hold, so that adjustment to individual differences was not solely the adjustment of the range of subject matter to the individual, as it was largely considered a quarter of a century ago.

Today we find ourselves in the midst of an appraisal at a thousand points of where the individual is to be subordinated to the system and

where the system should be subordinated to the individual. Today as never before we can appraise schools, not only in terms of what is happening in the improvement of schools and in the improvement of individuals, but also as to what is happening to the unfolding personality under which we subsume such traits as citizenship and democratic ideals.[1]

REALISM IN TEACHING

Our third principle also extends out of the studies of transfer of training. It may be stated as follows:

3. The more there is in common between the learning situation and the situation in which the learning is to be applied, the more likely will the learning be useful.

This similarity may be due to identical elements or to meaningful generalizations which will help individuals see identity that they might otherwise overlook, or both. Psychologists differ in their explanation as to why it is that the amount of transfer is related to native intelligence, but the conclusion from all of these elements seems to be that whether the generalization is built up by the teacher in a meaningful way or whether the transfer comes from identical elements, the higher the degree of reality in the teaching situation, the better, whatever the level of intelligence.

In other words, meaningful generalizations of words are not likely to be built up except through the use of lifelike situations. The failure of persons to be skillful in the use of denominate numbers, even though they were taught them in the elementary school, may very probably be traced to the teaching situation in which no attempt was made to discover whether children had any concepts of bushels and pecks or pounds and ounces. Accordingly, in later life, when faced by the bushel and peck, or pound and ounce situation, they are probably not much better able to cope with the practical problems than they would be if they had never studied them.

This principle is quite as revolutionary in its demands on schools as any of the others, for it denies the validity of the total textbook situation that still dominates vast numbers of our schools. It questions the validity of appraisal made exclusively on information or skill tests applied after teaching. Children can be taught to hand back even nonsense syllables glibly, and much of what is taught out of textbooks, unhappily, falls in the nonsense category so far as the learners are concerned. Accordingly, in appraising a school in terms

[1] Discussed in Chap. V.

of what it is really contributing to future effectiveness of individuals, even in such matters as skills and basic knowledge, consideration must be given to how meaningfully they were taught as well as to how well children can pass the typical terminal tests.

PHENOMENA OF GROWTH

The fourth psychological principle in our brief list may be stated as follows:

> 4. Learning is a process of individual unfolding. Each of us grows from where he is, not from some independently determined starting point held in common with others.

Growth and Good Teaching in the Past

Just as the theory of formal discipline was not followed religiously in schools prior to 1900 because of the frequent challenges of common sense particularly in the schools that had to work with all the people, so have some teachers always in some degree recognized education as a growth phenomenon. Most of the great teachers whom we have had were persons who were able to sense crises in our own individual unfolding in a way to help us become oriented in more spacious mansions that we had suddenly entered. Such teachers were great teachers, even if they gave lip service to formal discipline. Schools dominated by such teachers have always been good schools, in spite of the subject matter which made up the curriculum they had chosen as a means for reaching their ultimate objectives. Mr. Chips is a case in point.

Some great teachers were given a wider stage than the classroom from which to preach the doctrine of the growing organism. Comenius wrote his *Great Didactic* on the analogy between the growth of children and the growth of plants in the garden. Pestalozzi was another one of these men who followed a hunch that was later to be found scientifically sound. The very name "kindergarten"—garden of children—reflects this concept.

Insight vs. Research

However, these were hunches and they were followed with many other hunches. Those who lived in the day of Comenius and of Pestalozzi had no way of knowing that these were the good hunches. It would be surprising if any discovery in education had not been "foreseen" by someone. The history of all sciences shows that through partial insight individuals have proposed practices that in the

ultimate proved sound. What we tend to overlook is that many more unsound ones are proposed concurrently, each having the same sanction of "insight," and as a result no one has anything but his own sense of the "squaring with facts" in his own limited experience to guide him in his choice. In the nineteenth century, for example, the practice of cauterizing wounds was abandoned in the better hospitals. At the same time there was a great increase in deaths after operations. Only after the germ theory of disease came to the fore was it understood how the discontinuance of a barbaric practice thrown out because the theory supporting it was discarded had also thrown out one of the few practices that combated infection. Similarly, some primitive tribes have been found strangely free from certain diseases that are associated with lack of sanitation. Through the insight of some seer in their past history they had been led to sanitary practices because of the believed use that evilly inclined persons could make of personal garbage in practicing the art of witchcraft.

One of our lesser but vexing problems today is the group of men who insist on appraising practices without benefit of several centuries of development of empirical method. Why, for example, should Alexander Meiklejohn, Mortimer Adler, and Robert Hutchins, in their efforts to settle the fate of society and education, feel that it is so little necessary to reckon with the findings about human learning that have resulted from a century of empirical study?

One line of insight is worth a thousand pages of research; the trouble is to know which insight. In purpose it is a matter of agreement; with us a matter of agreement in each community. With method it is a matter of systematic checking with the facts of life—research; not that research avoids the necessity for arriving at agreements, but that agreements are on a simpler plane; *e.g.*, on the fitness of the tests and the validity of the observations. The good insights are the lucky generalizations from limited observation that prove to square with the universe. An insight into reality is good only to the degree that it is in fact an insight into reality. Only research going beyond the ordinary observation of an individual can tell which insight is the lucky one.

Studies of Child Development

Beginning in the twenties a number of extensive researches were carried on in which children were studied as complete growing organisms. They were the studies of child development. Their interest first was to find what the infant organism needed in the way of food, sleep, relaxation, and personal guidance. They watched babies of

preschool age unfolding. These studies carried on in the Child Development Institute of Teachers College, the Iowa Welfare Research Station, and other centers produced tens of thousands of pages giving the results of these observations. They are interesting reading and will help the school administrator. In addition, he should see to it that he has somebody on his staff who knows these writings well. In the twenty-five years of research in this field, the one finding that the present writer has picked up and observed that he would raise to the level of a principle of school administration is the principle that the organism grows from where it is. This principle challenges the work of every teacher every day. Combined with the facts on individual differences and the rejection of the formal discipline theory, it gives a background par excellence for the appraisal of practices designed as means to achieve the ultimate goals of education.

In spite of the tens of thousands of teachers who in the past few decades have had to review the work of Comenius and Pestalozzi, much as the philosophers have attempted to drive in upon our consciousness the need for attention to the growth learnings that go on for good or ill at the same time that the process of learning skills and knowledge proceeds, a recent survey of schools, which sampled the upper half of the expenditure levels of American education, indicates that the actual school methodology has taken them into account in a positive way in only a relatively small number of schools. More is made of this point in the chapter on the emerging designs of public education.

Scope of Application

Perhaps a word should be said here as to the implication of these child-development studies for the education of young children. It is hoped that nothing said here will be taken as in any way depreciating the outcomes in that area of the child-development studies. The characteristics of the principles brought into this system, as well as those brought into the other systems presented here, are their universality of application. Whatever a school system may be doing with respect to the providing of educational opportunities for young children, this principle of growth is fundamental, but it is also fundamental at every other level of education, including the work of the administrator with the public and with employed personnel.

INTEREST AS AN INDICATOR OF READINESS

The fifth of our five principles has to do with interest. It may be stated as follows:

5. **Interest is the phenomenon that indicates growth. Just as friction generates heat, learning generates interest. We don't teach to get interest, but when we don't get interest our teaching isn't prospering. Interest is an index of where the organism is ready to grow. Not all interests need to be followed any more than all limbs on a tree need to be allowed to develop; we select and encourage the limbs that sprout in the desirable places.**

This principle is important because of the fact that many forces have been at work during the last century which tend to confuse the educator, and perhaps even more, the layman, as to the category in which he should place interest. It is clearly a means and not an end.

The origin of the notion of interest as an end is confused. It shows up in the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century educational philosophies. But it is found elsewhere in the culture. It is observable in a poem of Wordsworth's that many of the older generation, at least, had to learn—"The Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood." This poem expressed what must have been a belief in some circles that the soul of a newborn child was translated immediately from a conscious and perfect life in another realm of existence. Granting this, interests evidenced by small children could be taken as clues to the nature of the good life. Accordingly, the interest itself would hold a close affinity with one of our prime objectives of education—the development of the good life. Why develop the good life, these good souls may have said, when all we have to do is discover its residual elements and allow them to grow unhampered? This lovely confection of philosophy found expression in Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird." Who that has seen these babes waiting to be born could refuse to believe that when they were eventually born their interests should be discovered and allowed full play as keys to that perfect life which, in the play, they are so anxious to leave?

In the early statements drawn together by that dynamic group that organized themselves as the Progressive Education Association more than a quarter of a century ago, the remnants of this play was made one of a group of important desiderata for which this group was to work. How many schools other than a few private schools that made it their special appeal for support actually fell for this the writer has no way of knowing. But in his observation of hundreds of public schools, little of it has been noted.

But the important thing is that we should not forget the power of interest as a tool when we reject it as an end—the error which is some-

times made. Just because these beautiful fictions have been brought to the attention of some people in most communities in their impressionistic years, it is important for the school administrator to understand just how interest fits into his kit of tools and to be able to explain how it is not some objective in itself over which one can become deeply excited. On the positive side, interest is to the teacher as the clinical thermometer is to the physician. It reads the temperature; he has to use his own judgment in terms of many other factors before deciding what may be wrong with the organism, since the thermometer is not marked "measles" at one point, "whooping cough" at another, and "common cold" at another. But just because it does not read in this simple fashion is no reason for his leaving it out of his tool kit. So interest combined with the principle of growth becomes an important even though fallible tool in the educational process, and a good administrator will, in coming to a conclusion with respect to policy, look to see whether this tool is being used in the educational patterns existent or proposed.

SUMMARY

The frequent confusion of means and ends in considerations of educational problems highlights the responsibility of the administrator to serve as a judge of the soundness of proposed action as means to ends. The soundness of his judgment will depend in no small degree upon his understanding of the nature of learning, of the demands of society, and of available inventions. This chapter has dealt with the first of these three groups of understandings.

Five basic principles are drawn from psychological research to assist the administrator in appraising action or proposed action in the light of the nature of human learning:

1. You can't train the mind like a muscle. Lifting mathematical weights does not help you much in lifting social weights. There is no simple generally applicable curriculum that prepares for life by training the mind.
2. Individuals differ in all sorts of ways: capacities, past growth, points at which growth is now ready to occur. To provide a wholesome growing situation a school must have a wide variety of open doors leading by varied paths toward the desired goals.
3. The more there is in common between the learning situation and the situation into which the learning is to be applied, the more likely will the learning be useful.
4. Learning is a process of individual unfolding. Each of us grows from where he is, not from some independently determined starting point held in common with others.
5. Interest is the phenomenon that indicates growth. Just as friction generates heat, learning generates interest. We don't teach to get interest, but when

we don't get interest our teaching isn't prospering. Interest is an index of where the organism is ready to grow. Not all interests need be followed any more than all limbs on a tree need be allowed to develop; we select and encourage the limbs that sprout in the desirable places.

Exercises

1. The student may serve two purposes by consulting *The Encyclopedia of Educational Research* on "Transfer of Training." First he will familiarize himself (if he has not already done so) with a most valuable source of empirical knowledge. Second, he will gain some knowledge of the experiments on transfer which, because of their far-reaching significance to educational policy, are of prime necessity to the administrator. The student will do well to arm himself with clear-cut descriptions of the basic experiments that will be useful in discussing the matter with lay and professional groups. The issue is a recurrent one. *Educational Psychology* by Gates and others will also be helpful.

2. The student should familiarize himself with some of the studies in child development and the influences they have had on educational outlook. Consult some of the references under B in the Selected Readings and formulate a list of conclusions that can be drawn from these studies.

3. From your readings from books under both A and B, can you formulate a list of "keys to human intellectual powers"?

4. If the student is keeping a "resource book" as suggested in the exercises following Chap. II, he will do well to set aside a section in which he judiciously lists the nondebatable conclusions that psychologists have established. A in the Selected Readings below suggests some general works on psychology upon which he may draw.

5. Apply the five psychological principles developed in this chapter in justifying some changes or retentions in some school system with which you are familiar. What common practices in our public schools violate basic psychological truths?

6. What can be done to secure acceptance and utilization as a conditioner of thought and action of the established psychological facts of learning by both professional school people and laymen?

7. To what extent do the established principles of psychology of learning inhibit or modify purposes as you may have conceived them in connection with your thinking on Chap. II?

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CHAPTER IV

SOCIOECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF PURPOSE

It is in no way decrying the importance of the eternal verities, the great humanistic patterns of personal living that contribute to individual happiness and to a good society, to point out that both the individual life and the pattern of society have socioeconomic aspects that must be taken into account in interpreting the meaning of the purposes of education. Technological developments, shifts in population patterns, the sweeping aside of groups of the population into unfavorable situations, shifts in the nature of wealth, all challenge the schools to help adjust individuals to the inevitable, or by changing the characteristic patterns of individual lives, to change the socioeconomic pattern for the better. Our conception of what constitutes a good citizen and a good personal life is strongly conditioned by the social and economic setting for which we are preparing children and young people. We do not think of the good civic life and the good personal life as going on in a vacuum. We no longer assume that the individual is trained for life by certain magic processes; he must rather be given knowledge, skills, and patterns of action drawn from the socioeconomic setting.

SOURCES OF INSIGHT

Luckily there are many people whose business it is, or who make it their business, to observe the flow of the socioeconomic patterns and to point out the trends toward different patterns, bringing them to the attention of legislatures, churches, schools, and other institutions or agencies concerned either with guiding individuals or with shaping the character of the patterns themselves. Hardly a newspaper but carries some statement challenging education to do something about preparing children and young people for some newly observed or imagined facet in our socioeconomic life.

One of the richest sources of data for these observers is the United States Census. It reveals shifts in patterns of population distribution, age, amount of education, literacy, size of families, wealth and resources, industry and production, agriculture, occupations, character of housing, advance of electrification, bathing facilities, running

water, racial distribution, distribution of immigrants, and many other facts.

From other sources observers gather information on changing patterns of morbidity, crime, unemployment and its incidence on racial and age groups, religious affiliation, social stratification, distribution, and consumption.

From still different sources observers gather data on the tremendous changes in technology and its impact on public or quasi-public agencies, social welfare agencies, health and medical care, governmental functions, character of public administration, taxables and tax systems, character of legislation, transportation, and communication.

RESPONSIBILITY OF ADMINISTRATORS

Among these persons are those who seek to find amelioration of the lot of individuals, preparation of individuals to take advantage of potential improvements, and change of the undesirable conditions themselves through the power of education. Luckily for the school administrator whose conscience may be saying to itself, "You must be one of these observers and interpreters," the official and voluntary observers appear to do a pretty good job of reviewing with pride and pointing with alarm, and, since the results of their observations are usually accepted as news, there are few fields so well served by the daily and periodical press.[1] Even the moderate reader and the casual attender at conventions, if he is alert to the importance of the area for education, can be reasonably well informed and continually challenged.

This chapter, therefore, seeks only to whet the edge of alertness by giving a summary[2] of 25 far-reaching trends of the past few decades and suggesting some of their challenges to the power of education. To the list of implications and the list of trends themselves the interested administrator can add as occasion suggests. By such means the administrator should find it easier to keep the long-time demands on the schools in mind and then be less overwhelmed by the occasional

[1] A few years ago the writer participated in an extensive analysis of social and economic trends and their educational implications. Two hundred and seventy-eight educational implications had been drawn from a comparable list of trends gathered from a survey of 700 books and articles. At the completion a check was made to discover how many of the implications would have been overlooked if the study had stopped with books and articles written by educational interpreters. Surprisingly, only 1 of the 278 would have been overlooked.

[2] Twenty-four drawn from the 278 referred to above. Several of the 278 are combined, however. Emphasis on 2 or 3 has been changed as a result of the war experience (work experience, tolerance, interdependence). The only "new trend" noted is the shift of the occupational pattern toward the service occupations.

dramatization of a situation by some special event or condition, such as was experienced in the fields of juvenile delinquency and intolerance during the war years. Few of these trends are new in the sense of being overt fruits of particular current events. They, along with many others, are a part of our racial or economic life that have been long in the making and long neglected. We need to be able to act more quickly and intelligently in meeting the problems arising out of these trends.

SEVEN GROUPS OF TRENDS

In the discussion which follows the 25 far-reaching trends referred to above are grouped under seven headings: Relieving Tensions in the Population, Developing Better Designs for Living, Preparation for Vocations, Challenges to Educational Methodology, Adjusting for the Increase in Educational Responsibility, Correcting Inequalities in Educational Opportunity, and Improving the Underpinnings and Structural Pattern of the School System. Note that these headings are not descriptive of the trends but rather of the educational adjustments which the writer assumes as desirable. The same holds in large degree for the headings given the 25 "trends."

A. Relieving Tensions in the Population

Six of the twenty-five trends have to do with increasing tensions among groups of population. Whether or not schools can do anything about relieving these tensions by bringing up a generation of people with different attitudes and habits of acting and thinking is a critical question. The fact is, however, that there are attempts here and there on the part of schools to do something about these tensions through the influence of personal behavior patterns.[1]

Relations between Leaders of Industry and Labor. The large part that industry has come to play in our life and the concentration of business control into a progressively smaller group suggests the need for a better social outlook for those who are likely to become leaders of industry and labor. It also suggests the possibility that when we have the future leaders in labor and industry in the same classrooms, something more might be done to prepare them for their varying roles in life. The fact that all of the members of each class will play some role in the economic life as consumers, laborers, managers, or the general public, and the fact that the exact role which any one individual will play is not known, should simplify rather than complicate the problem.

[1] Examples appear in Chap. V.

Interdependence between Urban and Rural Life. The increasing complexity of the interdependence of rural and city life makes it imperative that rural schools, at least, take more account of the whole social scene. This is only less imperative for the urban schools because of the greater progress toward diversity made by the latter.

Occupational Future of Rural Children. The shift of excess rural population to the cities due to differential birth rates and technological development counsels more diverse occupational training for young people and more attention to patterns of urban living. The cities of tomorrow will in no small degree be made up of men and women who were born and reared in the country. No mean proportion of the children in any rural school may be expected to pass their adult years in urban communities. Whatever the rural school does in the preparation of young people for a richer rural life, there is certainly a challenge to the school to provide whatever it can to help those who are destined to be city dwellers adjust to a life where community discipline is lower and where, therefore, self-discipline becomes of increased importance.

Problems of Home Life. There are a group of trends which impinge upon home life. Included in these are the decreasing size of families, smaller homes, shift of economic functions from home to industry, and the slower increase of employment of married women as compared with unmarried (barring war years). With all these changes the home still remains an important social and economic unit in our society and there seems to be no group interest in lessening its importance. These trends therefore provide a challenge to the schools to take the changed conditions into account. Among the possible adaptations are attention by schools to the preparation of girls for cultural and political pursuits, the provision of work opportunities for children and young people formerly provided by homes, the stressing of wise purchasing and consumption of goods no longer produced in the home, and the education of both boys and girls for child care.

Correction of Juvenile Maladjustment. The extent and variety of maladjustment expressing itself in crime and particularly in juvenile delinquency has come to have great social significance. This was dramatized but not created by the war. The trend of public awareness of the problem challenges the schools to take a hand in the discovery of educational experiences which will more adequately integrate the life of children and young people in our highly urbanized, technological civilization. It also challenges the schools to use every means possible to discover the maladjusted individuals and to assist in the development of more effective means of dealing with first offenders. It is an interesting idea to consider to what degree the

development of the automobile, facilitating as it has the easy transference of youngsters from the discipline of their own environment, may have been a cause of this trend. It is quite as challenging to consider whether or not the school, along with other agencies, might have offset any such disintegrating influence of the automobile by developing more challenging patterns of community living in out-of-school hours.

Improving Intercultural Relations. The various tensions in our social life due to clashes of minority groups of various origins (ethnic, economic) seem to go through periods of waxing and waning. They were greatly stimulated by the depression, by the shifting of population due to wars, and by the readjustment of population following wars. While the cause may be economic to a considerable degree, many people connected with education seem to think that schools can and should do something about these tensions in the development of attitudes and habits of working together during childhood and early adult life.

B. Developing Better Designs for Living

If it is possible to develop attitudes and habits bearing upon the actual pattern of living for the purpose of bringing elements of the population up to some middle standards taken as normative, it should by the same token be possible to develop in children and young people designs for living on a plane higher than that which is usually accepted as normative.

Affecting the Pattern of Demand for Goods. We have experienced in our time a definite trend away from an economy of scarcity to an economy of abundance. We can now produce more goods than we consume. This would appear to challenge the schools to develop patterns of living in children and young people (and in the adult population, for that matter) that would call for the production of those things that would result in a higher plane of life than was developed in an economy of scarcity. Considerable thought should be given to these questions: In what way can abundance contribute to the good life? Can education help children and young people develop designs for living worthy of an economy of abundance?

Education for Use of Leisure Time. Closely related to the foregoing is the increase of time free from the drive of making a living and the increase in bodily health to go along with it. Much of our attitude towards the leisure thus created has been negative. We have sought to develop ways of consuming time so that people will be kept out of mischief. How much better if we could rise to the creation of urges to spend this free time in ways that would spell a superior culture of

happy people. One of the most impressive things about the Greek gods on Olympus was the amount of leisure they had. Another impressive thing was the low level of imagination on the part of the Greeks of how such godlike leisure could be spent. We now have new gods on a new Olympus—the people freed from the drive of continuous toil. What can these new gods do on their Olympus that is worthy of the purchase price of sweat, blood, and tears of men down through the ages? Can education help them design the patterns and give them the skills, knowledge, and attitudes requisite to theis construction?

Education for Use of Resources. The variety of community-provided services which seems destined to increase rather than decrease, counsels attention by the schools to opportunities in these fields, use of these services (cultural, recreational, health) in individual patterns of living, and increased alertness in ways and means of obtaining an accounting for funds spent by the community for the benefit of individuals but without the same prudential oversight possible with individual expenditure.

C. Preparation for Vocations

The increased complexity of our occupational life has resulted in the need for the training of a vast number of people for skilled occupations. There seems to be rather general agreement that this is a responsibility the educational system should assume.

Initial Occupational Training and Retraining. The experience in war production seemed to point to the need for a greater emphasis on training for initial employment. In addition, the increased complexity of the vocational picture multiplies the desirability of predicting near future employment needs. Finally, the rapidity of economic changes resulting in the loss of employment makes the need urgent for provisions for retraining.

Training Government Workers. There has been a rapid increase in the number of workers employed in government service. The schools have still to respond to the responsibility for providing future government workers such training as will make their social usefulness as great as possible.

Training for Service Occupations. The increase in the percentage of the population going into service occupations places challenges on the schools to modify present patterns of vocational training. In addition, it is claimed that the service occupations make particularly strong demands upon the character phases of education. If this position is tenable, it throws an additional interesting light upon the emerging designs of education discussed in Chap. V.

D. Challenges to Educational Methodology

The methodology of education is challenged by a clearer orientation of knowledge to living, by technological developments in basic forms of communication, and by resources available in the community as related to various maturity levels of students.

Integration of Social and Physical Sciences. The increasingly apparent impingement of technological advances on social arrangements counsels efforts on the part of the schools toward a closer integration of the social and physical sciences.

Use of Technology in Increased Time. The increasing complexity of our civilization that has come with technological advances counsels an increase in the character and scope of the education designed to fit the oncoming generation for adult life. The character of the education is challenged by such technological developments as moving pictures, radio, television, and transportation. It has made no more than a beginning of responding to these developments as a means of bringing children and young people into closer contact with the world in which they are learning to live. Neither may the schools consider that the lengths of the school day, the school week, the school year, and the number of years of schooling provided, as determined largely in an earlier, simpler era, are immune to review in the light of these developments.

Provision of Substitutes for the Educational Values of Work. The trend toward holding young men and women in school, whatever its justification, has a strong impetus because of the easy contribution it makes to the reduction of the unemployment problem. Schools must give careful consideration to the nature of the program that will provide not only information and skills but also the personal growths arising from taking a responsible place in the economic life of society now denied by the postponement of social maturation. Schools in their enthusiasm for knowledge and information should not soon forget that an eighteen-year-old is not a "youth" when it comes to flying bombers or driving tanks. If young men and women are our first-line soldiers in war, they deserve a somewhat more realistic treatment in peace. Perhaps schools can play an important part in repealing "youth" and in restoring the word itself to the poets.

E. Adjusting for the Increase in Educational Responsibility

The extension of the school's functions has caused it to overlap functions partially performed by various public and private agencies other than the school. Along with this has come the need for adjustments in the freedom and character of the school staff and for more

cooperation between various groups in carrying forward educational responsibilities. The first two given below have to do with the school staff, the next two with the public at large, and the last two with other public groups and governmental agencies.

Increased Demands for Academic Freedom. Our society is undergoing profound changes in the relations of government to enterprise, in racial adjustments, in international adjustments, in the status of the farm population, and in the scope of the solutions sought through governmental action. The education of intelligent citizens requires consideration of these subjects while they are still live issues. Teachers who deal with these subjects, be they ever so tactful, are likely to arouse public opposition. Accordingly, school systems appear to be faced with a problem of academic freedom of increasing proportions.

Increased Demands for Competent Staffs. A combination of forces bringing academic freedom to the fore calls also for school staffs with broader training and experience in social and economic problems and with keen vision of our potentialities as a people.

Increasing Significance of Lay Understanding of Public Education. The increase in urbanization accelerates the formation of groups working to achieve group ends by pressure tactics and decreases the likelihood of mutual understanding between schools and the public. The trend toward wider service of schools to individuals broadens the gap between public understanding and school objectives. Administration must therefore take increased pains to raise the level of public understanding of education (its objectives and methods) and to decrease the likelihood that symbiotic groups in the community will neglect these purposes in working toward their own accepted goals. Part of the task is more realistic accounting to the public in terms of results achieved toward the objectives sought.

Increased Demand for Community Work Patterns. Increasing complexity of social and economic life incident to development of rapid communication and transportation raises many problems for which schools have not prepared the present population and for which they will not be able to prepare the oncoming generation. The educational system is one of the agencies that is challenged to help adults achieve critical abilities and to develop ways of working together. This is a particularly important problem in the large cities where the people have as yet found few substitutes for the relatively simple symbiotic devices of country and village; but it is only less important for the village and rural communities for even here the devices for the interplay of minds, such as the town meeting and the general store, have given way rather largely to the one-way streets of radio and movie.

Relation of Schools to Other Agencies. The shift of the school from a skills and knowledge-purveying institution to an institution concerned with all-round personal growth (partly in response to change in form of family life resulting from increased urbanization, increasing participation of mothers in gainful occupations, changes in leisure forms, changes in the participation of children in the work of the home resulting from shifts in occupational patterns) requires closer cooperation with other agencies now supplementing the home, and closer work with parents in planning the 24-hour day and the 365-day year.

Interplay between Schools and United States Government Agencies. Rapid expansion of federal government in welfare fields makes it incumbent on schools to work out means of cooperation, particularly with government placement and rehabilitation agencies.

F. Correcting Inequalities in Educational Opportunity

Whatever the situation may be with respect to differences in educational levels among states and among communities in the same states, there is still much to do in the way of making up for deficiencies of educational opportunity for minority groups in the population of individual communities. Notes on two such groups follow:

Education in Underprivileged Areas. The migration to more privileged areas of groups with restricted educational background, particularly of Negroes from the South, provides a challenge both to the school and community. It highlights the necessity for an adequate minimum of educational opportunity throughout the nation for prudential reasons as well as for the more appealing reasons of justice and equality.

Education of Immigrants. The failure of laissez-faire methods to result in the absorption of immigrants into the American culture counsels more effective attempts to provide for vocational and cultural education for such persons. Better use should be made of their own cultural assets.

G. Improving Underpinnings and Structural Pattern of the School System

The expanding functions of the educational system in our social life have placed great strains upon the arrangement for financing education and upon the system of educational control. Two of the major areas at which the strain is most felt are dealt with here:

Tax Reform. The shift in the forms of wealth makes increasingly impractical the great dependence on the property tax for educational

support. Arrangements in most states must be made for shifting part of the burden to other tax forms.

Planning Educational Institutions. Advancements in transportation and coordinate development of interdependence over areas that do not correspond to political boundaries (municipal or state) make it imperative that the service areas of institutions be conceived in terms more realistic than existing school district or political boundaries.

CREATIVE VS. PATHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

Note that many of these trends have to do with pathological conditions developing in our society. Perhaps there is something in the very study of census and other general statistics of trends that lends itself to the state of mind that seeks for what is wrong. Recently the writer was examining some comparative data on eight New York City communities, each having a population of approximately 100,000. One of these sections was obviously depressed, regardless of the comparative data used. Suddenly the percentage of college graduates, woefully low compared to other communities, took on new life. It was 1.1 per cent. In this new light it was interpreted to mean that in this obviously depressed area there were more than 1,000 college graduates. Here was certainly an indication that even such a community as this had many assets, yet none of the investigations up to that time had sought for the assets of the community.

In making the list there has been some attempt to correct for this factor, but the pathological certainly is still emphasized. Only in the second group is there an attempt made to look for something that might raise the level of what is considered normative. This observation is made in no critical vein. It is made in the hope that there is now growing up a generation of workers in the field of education who will seek to emphasize the positive, who will approach the problem of education toward making life more generally abundant. Earlier generations in modern times have seemed to leave the abundant life to the inventor of gadgets and products. We have given our own time to offsetting the bad effects of riding too much and too far, of movies made ostensibly for "entertainment" but actually for box-office receipts, of radio programs designed to sell patent medicines, and soap designed to please the eye, the hand, or the sense of smell. Only here and there have we been concerned with the idea that men might possibly through education be given cathedrals to build that would make the achievement of freedom from making a living an achievement devoutly to be desired rather than a "social problem."

SUMMARY

Our conception of what constitutes a good citizen and a good personal life is strongly conditioned by the social and economic setting for which we are preparing boys, girls, and young people.

Luckily there are many people who spend time in observing the flow of socioeconomic patterns, bringing them to the attention of the various social agencies for such action as they see fit to take. They are aided by the newspapers in bringing their findings to public attention since their findings appear to have high news quality.

Among these pointers-with-pride and viewers-with-alarm are many who have a deep faith in education as a corrective agency. They appear to do a reasonably good job. Even the moderate reader, if he is alert to the importance of the challenges to education, can be reasonably alert to the demands from this quarter.

As a core list of trends with possible implications for the interpretation of the basic purposes of education, the following seven groups are given:

1. Relieving tensions in the population: improved relations between management and labor, diverse rural education, rural occupational and cultural training, changes in the character of the home, juvenile delinquents, intercultural relations.
2. Developing better designs for living: the more abundant life, leisure time, education for use of resources.
3. Preparation for vocations: initial occupational training and retraining, training government workers.
4. Challenges to educational methodology: integration of social and physical sciences, use of technology and increased time, substitutes for work.
5. Adjusting for the increase in educational responsibility: academic freedom, staff competence, lay understanding of public education, adult symbiosis, schools and other agencies, schools and United States Government agencies.
6. Correcting inequalities in educational opportunity: education of Negroes, education of immigrants.
7. Improving underpinnings and structural pattern of the school system: tax reform, planning educational institutions.

It is to be hoped that we may become more skillful in seeing opportunities for creating a higher level of living to supplement our present ability to note the inefficiencies in the machinery of our way of life.

Exercises

1. Classify the list of trends according to the age levels they affect.
2. Using census data and other sources note the differences that have occurred in a community with which you are familiar in the period between the last two censuses.

3. Classify the subjects treated in an issue of an available magazine dealing with school administration according to the issues in the list given in this chapter on which they have a bearing or by which they are influenced.

4. Refer again to your list of areas of concern for the administrator that you formulated in connection with Chap. I. Classify those items under the issues given in this chapter that have the greatest bearing upon decisions made in those compartments of school management.

5. Select three specific areas of school management and give practical illustrations of how socioeconomic factors condition policy.

6. Develop and illustrate the concept of the conditioning force of socioeconomic factors on principles of purpose in education.

7. How might some phase of a school system with which you are familiar be adjusted to meet these conditioning socioeconomic trends?

8. What is the interaction of the ideas of this chapter with the concept held by many educational leaders that the only good schools are those that are closely geared to the needs and resources of their immediate communities?

9. Outline the steps you would take and the facts you would seek in making a community survey to condition the purposes and program of a school of which you had charge. The student will find the reference to Kyte's *Principal at Work*, given below, helpful.

10. How might an acceptance and understanding of these issues condition your diagnosis and treatment of the educational maladjustment of an individual pupil?

11. Classify the socioeconomic trends as to where they primarily fall in the two categories given below:

a. Those that can be harnessed for the good of education
b. Those that place new responsibilities upon education

12. If you are keeping a "resource book" as has been suggested, you may well enter a list of socioeconomic trends as you see them. Add to the list given in this chapter any that you have read and/or discovered from thoughtful observation that will stand the twin tests:

a. Do they have real, basic significance as educational conditioners?
b. Are they more than transitory factors? Do they have validity in terms of lasting importance?

Express these concepts in terms meaningful to you. Illustrate them by clippings or specific references that will have utility to you. Enter any suggestions you have for applications you wish to make in your work when the opportunity affords. If they have a real significance in your professional "credo" make an appropriate entry.

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CHAPTER V

EMERGING DESIGN OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AS RELATED TO PURPOSES

The description of best practices is given in the belief that abstractly stated purposes are largely meaningless without some conception of how they are to be attained; that most people interpret the purpose in terms of the best device of which they know, no matter how inadequate it may be.

In his Introduction to Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia*, Wirth states: "A society is possible in the last analysis because the individuals in it carry around in their heads some sort of picture of that society.[1] By the same token the conceptual design of a school that will meet the accepted objectives is of the greatest importance as a background for the solution of administrative problems. The solution of administrative problems does not start from scratch. In the words of Mannheim:

> Strictly speaking it is incorrect to say that the single individual thinks. Rather it is more correct to insist that he participates in thinking further what other men have thought before him. He finds himself in an inherited situation with patterns of thought which are appropriate to this situation and attempts to elaborate further the inherited modes of response or to substitute others for them in order to deal more adequately with the new challenges which have arisen out of the shifts and changes in his situation.[2]

Listed in the preceding chapters are a sampling of a wide range of factors that have changed the conceptual design of American education from that which obtained 20 years ago. These objectives and discoveries together with an almost endless list of empirical findings on how to teach a given subject such as reading, spelling, and arithmetic, and how to administer a given function such as the formulation of the budget or the supervision of a school, resulted in a great mass of piecemeal changes in the more alert schools as early as 1920. The decade of the thirties was the era of synthesis. More and more educational leaders began to fit these discoveries and ideas together, to find a guiding pattern that would be predictive, just as this volume

[1] MANNHEIM, KARL, *Ideology and Utopia*, p. xxv, New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1936.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

seeks to find the common sense of administrative practices. By 1940 a good number of schools had emerged that gave a sum total effect of unity quite different from the school still generally characteristic of most of those that had sought to adapt and yet had many of the characteristics of the parlor *whatnot* of the Victorian era.

This best current school is still so far ahead of general practice that it seems useful to portray here what appears to be its general integrating characteristics and a somewhat detailed description of its major features. In giving this treatment it is hoped that it will be taken for what it is meant, a description of schools still all too rare and probably still in the chrysalis stage of evolution.

The materials treated in this chapter have been garnered from a multitude of school practices by using as a selective instrument the purposes stated in Chap. II and the conditioning factors stated in Chaps. III and IV. They therefore give a picture of "purpose in operation" no sounder than (1) the scope of observation; (2) the soundness of the principles of psychology used; or (3) the interpretation of socioeconomic trends identified.

Viewed from this angle, purpose for practical use is challenged by every important discovery in the psychology of learning, by every new insight or development in the realm of pertinent socioeconomic trends, and by every invention in the realm of method.[1]

EMERGING PRACTICES IN ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOLS

Much of the writing in recent years has dealt with the extension of the schools downward to the nursery school and upward to junior college and adult education. While various national bodies have been concerned with these problems of early childhood and "youth," much has been going on within the normal scope of the elementary and high-school years, and the great mass of these developments has had but scant treatment by commissions and periodicals. Outstanding exceptions are the 8-year study of the Progressive Education Association and the study of democracy and youth by the Educational Policies Commission.

Drawing from these exceptions on the one hand, and on the other from a series of studies that were made in the first instance as attempts to get some picture of what schools at different expenditure levels did differently and later in connection with studies of adaptability, certain

[1] The approach outlined here is treated in considerable detail in William S. Vincent, *Emerging Patterns of Public School Practice*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945.

trends are apparent. It becomes quite clear that there has emerged a more searching, a deeper type of education; that the concept of education has been going through a rather remarkable transformation in the hands of brilliant teachers who have both an understanding of the psychology of learning as it has evolved in the past three or four decades and an understanding of the trends in the socioeconomic scene.

The early studies of returns for money spent which began to emerge in the early thirties showed that schools that could afford it were giving much more attention to the individual as a growing, evolving organism. The instruments used reflected a decrease in overageness, a lowered use of non-promotion, a greater use of diagnostic tests, a better provision for health guidance and clinical services, a wider variety of materials and equipment.[1] The later studies showed a more extensive use of lifelike teaching situations, a broadening of the work of the teacher to include attention centered on the slowly developing characteristics of human beings such as intelligence, patterns and habits of living with family, work, community and larger groups, character and personality, and health.[2] They showed broadening also in the conscious attempt to find and develop individuals' talents and aptitudes. The result is not an exclusive, educational pattern such as the "child-centered school," but is one line of development along with the orientation of the individual with the physical and socioeconomic world of which he is a part. Such schools, it appeared, had learned how to teach more skills useful in the world and more knowledge about the world. At the same time they gave attention to the individual as an unfolding chrysalis responding uniquely to that world and as a social individual who needed to be guided through the years into an habitually intelligent person with pleasing character, personality, citizenship, and health traits.

This deeper education is clearly an education of power. It has connotations for the type of education that should be provided beyond the high school and prior to the elementary school. Essentially it has as its end object the ancient purposes in terms of what capable people have learned to do to achieve them.

There is considerable evidence that American education is beginning to find itself. The period of awakening and the fevered crusade

[1] See *Reconstruction of the System of Public School Support in the State of New Jersey*, Vol. II of the Report of the Governor's School Survey Commission, pp. 76–112, Trenton, 1933. Also, *The Financing of the Public Schools of Maine*, pp. 64–97, The Maine School Finance Commission, Aug. 1934.

[2] *What Education Our Money Buys*, Report of the New York State Educational Conference Board, Albany, N.Y.: Educational Conference Board, 1943.

that characterized the twenties appears to be over. It has served a good purpose. Among other things, it awakened us from dependence on ancient rituals copied largely from European practice. In its place has come a businesslike approach to providing education in the light of the best knowledge and insight. Without committing ourselves to a "philosophy" or an "ism" we can accept tentatively and test those variations in educational processes that promise to further purposes quite universally accepted. Our creed can be, *Do the best that can be done in the light of present understanding.* We need not accept or reject any particular practice as a symbol of an emotionalized movement. In such an atmosphere polarized terms like progressive, conservative, organismist, atomist have no place. Orientation must come from our purposes and what promises to fulfill them, in terms of the whole range of experience.

Examples of Emerging Patterns

The most thorough treatment of these emerging practices into a well-rounded whole is given in a book reporting an extensive study of practices in 60 relatively favored school systems carried on during the school year 1943–44.[1] Two hundred and fifty picked staff members went about seeking out practices as challenging as or more so than anything that had been reported in *What Education Our Money Buys.* They followed various leads into the schools and described the practices from actual experience. In all, approximately 6,000 practices were described. Small groups working with Dr. William S. Vincent then sought to classify these practices with the result that there emerged the 101 patterns of practice described and illustrated in the report. These practices are, of course, not all new nor of proven worth. Relatively few have been subjected to what might be considered scientific testing. They are, however, in the process of being refined and tested where most of our life practices are tested, in the crucible of experience. They seem good things to do. They appear to have validity when judged by known psychology of learning and known socioeconomic trends. They are the growing edge of the root system of American schools. These things can be done by schools for public schools are now doing them. They represent a drawing of strength from subsoils that American education of the past rarely reached. They provide a "design for purpose."

Something of their scope and emphasis can be had by reading the

[1] Metropolitan School Study Council, *What Schools Can Do,* New York, distributed by the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944.

short titles of the 101 patterns, grouped under 12 descriptive headings or "windows." They are reproduced as Appendix A. The first nine windows throw light on the educational processes themselves; the last three on administrative aspects of the school. Something of the tone of the emerging school can be illustrated by the seven patterns reproduced as Tables 1 to 7, inclusive.

Table 1 gives Pattern 8 from Window I, Basic Skills. It shows the expansion of the range of the three R's. Other patterns in this window show the continued interest on what have heretofore been thought of as elementary-school skills. These are not just skills to be taught and forgotten; they are the tools of learning *throughout life,* the tools of communication, the tools of intelligence.

Table 2 gives Pattern 5 from Window II, Basic Knowledge. It shows the emphasis on making the knowledge learned a working part of the human mechanism, available for intelligent use now and in the future.

Table 3 gives Pattern 3 from Window III, Teaching Pupils to Think. It is one of the eight patterns reflecting how schools can work directly on the problem of increasing effective intelligence.

Table 4 gives Pattern 5 from Window IV, Exploration of the Abilities of Pupils. It illustrates the concern of the better schools with the unfolding of the human chrysalis.

Table 5 gives Pattern 2, one of the nine in Window V, Developing Character. It shows the emphasis on the guidance of the slow growing facets of human life. It is characteristic of the part better teachers play as observers and guides of the slowly maturing elements that make up human personality. The use of education in the stimulating and guiding of the development of gross behavior patterns in individuals is illustrated also in certain of the patterns appearing in Window III, Teaching Pupils to Think, Window IV, Exploring Pupils' Abilities, Window VI, Health and Safety, Window VII, Home Competence, Window VIII, The World of Work, and Window IX, Civic Competence. The important point here is not the concept of growth but rather the fact that schools are learning how to deal with it. They are taking it out of the realm of blind dependence on educational setting. They are injecting the gardener (the observer and guide of growth) into Comenius' garden. The idea is not new, but new and highly promising arts of carrying it out have made it more attainable and therefore more powerful. In effect they have *changed* the purpose. A sign of it is the change from the nervous hurry of the old school to the quiet, gardenlike tempo of growth of the new type of school.

TABLE 1.—SPEECH TECHNIQUES: PATTERN 8 OF WINDOW I*
(Teaching the Basic Skills)

OPPORTUNITIES TO USE THE NATURAL TENDENCIES OF CHILDREN FOR TALKING IN ORDER TO DEVELOP THEM INTO PROPER PATTERNS OF SPEECH, AND DIAGNOSING AND CORRECTING SPEECH DIFFICULTIES

The "three R's" have become greatly broadened in the modern school to include many other basic skills. Speech has finally taken its proper place as a skill to be taught and developed quite as important as reading, writing, or arithmetic. This may be accomplished in speech classes which capitalize the desire of pupils to talk. It may be accomplished in diagnostic classes set up to correct faults. Such classes are usually under the supervision of speech specialists, but in the better schools speech is a skill utilized in every situation, from the development of proper English usage in the English classes and in classes in public speaking to the great reliance made by all teachers on dramatization. Choral speaking is a device for developing proper speech habits, which has almost achieved the status of a creative art.

The socialized recitation is a technique utilized to create easy, uninhibited expression. Similar objectives attend the recent use of panels, debates, town meetings, and forum-type discussions. More informally, many schools are stressing the art of conversation since the majority of students will communicate their ideas orally rather than in written form.

Illustrations

For the radio workshop most of the equipment has been provided by the board of education; the rest by the student congress. In addition to the preparation and delivery of radio scripts by students of above average capability and interest, teachers have used this equipment for speech training in most ingenious ways, and their success in full auditorium presentations has been astonishing. (1)

Poor enunciation and the inability to stand before the class and talk comfortably brought about a club called the Speak Easy Club. (2)

The third grade has a period called "Information, Please," which lasts about ten minutes each morning. The children tell any news items or relate any special events they have heard of or taken part in. (3)

Lip-reading lessons are based on the Nitchie Method, as taught by Estelle Samuelson of the New York League for the Hard of Hearing. (4)

A recording is made of each child's voice at the beginning of the term. Records are played back and children discuss wherein improvements could be made. Much work is then done on pronunciation, enunciation, and voice control. (5)

For vocal gymnastics young children are taught to listen, recognize, and imitate sounds associated with farm, street, house, toys, animals, etc. (6)

Children make lantern-slide pictures from their reading material and prepare talks about their slides. (7)

One teacher used the procedure recommended by Mabel Vinson Cage in *Oral Language Practices*. In this method students work in pairs and recite orally to their partners 10 or 12 sentences involving the usage under discussion for the particular lesson. This five-minute oral drill on an oral English skill proved useful in the classes in which it was employed consistently for a full semester. (8)

* Reproduced from *What Schools Can Do.*

In formal oral English, the speaker is checked by a special pupil committee on content and another on speech. A child is not stopped and corrected every time an error is made, nor is it pointed out that John said this, or Mary said that. Rather, all mistakes are listed and brought to the attention of the group by the proper committee at the end of the class. (9)

It is very important that the teacher make every effort to check her groups for speech defects at the very beginning of school. This is done informally through conversation and consists of saying nursery rhymes and poems, telling "sentence stories" about riding on the bus or about what is done at home to help mother. The very shy ones are asked "Who was your partner when you came from the playground?" or "What did you see on your way to school?" Any event of interest is utilized to make conservation, and the ear of the teacher is constantly tuned to such conversation. (10)

The oral reading course is designed as an advanced course for those interested in oral interpretation of prose and poetry. Skills and methods of interpretation of various types of literature are studied and practiced. An increased appreciation of great literature and of the human voice as a means of expression are the results. (11)

The first grade and kindergarten have frequent informal get-togethers. They call it "Good Times We Share." These meetings tend to encourage better speech, to build up a rich background for reading and an appreciation of good literature. (12)

A special teacher gives instruction in speech, dramatics, public speaking, and remedial reading. The dramatics class, a fairly small group, showed an improvement in speech enunciation, voice production, interpretation, etc. The pupils were given a typed copy of a short dramatic scene and each one in turn tried to enact all the parts. Very creditable models of stage sets and prompt books were on display. A large number of the students belong to dramatic groups which meet after school. Great interest is also taken in public speaking, a subject which grows more and more an essential one. (13)

A persuasive speaking course is designed to give students interested in public speaking a working knowledge of speech construction and delivery and an understanding of the forms of group discussion. This course, which is taught the second semester, completes the full unit of work for the second year of speech. (14)

The speech fundamentals course is designed to introduce students to various phases of speech work and to develop fundamental skills of speaking. The physiological structure of the speech apparatus is studied as a background, but the main portion of the work is carried on by practice in public speaking, group discussion, oral interpretation, and dramatics. (15)

Something of the administrative concomitants can be gained from two patterns chosen from Windows X and XII. Table 6 gives Pattern 4 from Window X, Regard for the Individual. Clearly in such schools administration must be adaptable. Table 7 gives Pattern 6 from Window XII, The Composite Staff. It shows the beginnings made in the marshaling of community personnel resources to build up and supplement the rich resources within the employed staff.

TABLE 2.—THE SCHOOL AS A LIVING COMMUNITY: PATTERN 5 OF WINDOW II*
(Teaching the Basic Fields of Knowledge)

DEVELOPING MANY REAL, PRODUCTIVE WORK EXPERIENCES IN A LIFELIKE SETTING WHICH PRESENT REAL PROBLEMS AND SITUATIONS THAT FACILITATE, MOTIVATE, AND INTENSIFY THE PROCESSES OF LEARNING

One of the major principles of psychology holds that learning is more efficient and longer lasting when the conditions under which it is learned are real and lifelike. Schools furnish two kinds of lifelike situations:

Those that approximate real-life situations but are intrinsically teaching devices. The science laboratory, the vocational shop, and unit and project activities in elementary-school classes are all devices of this sort. These practices are presented under Pattern 6.

Those that are real-life situations which are ends in themselves. These are activities of the productive type rather than the laboratory type. These are activities more truly characterized as *work* rather than as *play*. Productive activities that arise naturally in the school environment simply because the school is a community of people living together are important utilizers of knowledge. They present the pupil with the principle of knowledge in use, and wherever knowledge can be presented as part of a useful productive activity its learning is more efficient.

Current salvage campaigns in schools, the sale of war bonds and stamps, making afghans for the Red Cross, safety patrols, benefit entertainments and dances, planning and presenting luncheons and parties, are all examples of productive activities. Active provision for truly productive activities in schools should go far beyond these beginnings. Through such activities the school becomes more like the "school of experience" which is the world's best teacher.

Illustrations

One class used manual arts and homemaking courses as a means of helping to beautify the English classroom. It needed additional bookcases for reading books. Two bookcases were built in the manual training period by boys of the class. At the same time the girls concentrated on making curtains for the classroom windows. (1)

A fifth grade started a small cooperative company to provide money to buy pencils and pads to sell to the school. A real share of stock was brought into the class to look at and examine. The class designed and made shares. They sold 44 shares at 25 cents a share. Letters were written ordering the supplies that the class thought would sell best. (2)

Cafeteria activities carried on by one mathematics class include wrapping, counting, and depositing each week the money taken in at the cafeteria, paying the cash grocery bills, operating the cash register in the cafeteria, keeping the cafeteria account and balancing it each month, taking the monthly inventory of the cafeteria supply closet, and making out the monthly statement for the cafeteria. (3)

One home-management class, after observing the room to be used for guidance conferences, planned color schemes, draperies, rugs, and accessories which would make it more attractive. Since this is a very dark room the Mexican theme was introduced in draperies and accessories. First they cleaned walls, paint, and windows. Then they waxed furniture and rearranged it for better light and appearance. (4)

* Reproduced from *What Schools Can Do.*

In a junior-high-school building pupil helpers include library assistants and pupils at the courtesy desk in the office each period. (5)

Art classes have compiled a list of ex-graduates now in the armed service with their addresses. They made Christmas greeting cards for them. Christmas letters were written in the English class. (6)

Science classes raised victory gardens. The planning started in February. Plowing and planting followed instruction in these important functions. Group leaders were appointed. Two hundred gardens were grown by students of the junior high school. (7)

Model airplanes for the United States Navy program were made by shop pupils. Games and other equipment are prepared for Army and Navy hospitals and camps as a Red Cross project. (8)

There is one school where the principal cannot be on duty all day so the children take turns as office help. There is no one older than a fifth grader yet they efficiently receive phone calls, greet visitors, accept war stamp receipts, and use the safe. Largely because of the limited time of the principal, the children in this same school planned nearly all their clubs as service clubs. One is the "Schools and Grounds Club," and membership in this really entails work as janitor service is also curtailed due to war conditions. There is a "War Activities Club" with all the attendant responsibilities of scrap drives, stamp sales, Junior Red Cross work, and patriotic drives of all sorts. (9)

The decision was made to assemble and save the costumes made by the children for their assembly programs. A dead end of a hall was partitioned off by the school janitor. Shelves for one side of the improvised room were made by the sixth-grade boys in the school shop. Another sixth-grade class earned money to purchase mothproof closets to line the opposite wall of the room. The materials then on hand were sorted, boxed, and labeled by the pupils of still another sixth-grade class. Each class of the school preparing a dramatization sends a committee to the costume room with the classroom teacher to examine the material available and to select what they wish to use. Often a class adds to the collection by making new costumes. The costumes are kept in good condition by the children who use them. The children usually press or launder the items at school. When the class is finished with the costumes a committee returns them to the costume room and assists in putting the items in the proper places. (10)

Sewing classes including boys as well as girls make articles for the American Red Cross. (11)

EMERGING DESIGN AND APPRAISAL

Since documents such as *What Schools Can Do* and *What Education Our Money Buys* have sought to build a bridge between the operating school and the basic purposes, taking into account the psychological and socioeconomic principles, they provide a useful means of appraising a given school program in terms of purposes. Administrators, staff, and, for that matter, pupils, and public, by use of them can get a better practical conception of the purposes of education and suggestions for improvement of practices in terms of them.

More objective appraisal can be had through the use of various

TABLE 3.—ACTIVE INVESTIGATION: PATTERN 3 OF WINDOW III*
(Teaching Pupils to Think)

HAVING PUPILS STUDY PROBLEMS IN MANY AREAS THROUGH ACTIVE PROCESSES OF INVESTIGATION

A question asked or a problem identified is followed in the complete act of thought by: taking pertinent facts into account; searching for evidence bearing upon the problem to guide the solver to a decision.

Because pupils must learn to think with real evidence (not with verbalisms), the search for evidence must be concrete and active and must deal with the specific apparatus, equipment, tools, and procedures which pertain to the nature of the problem, *e.g.:* seeing the operation of scientific principles; observing the formation of opinion; dealing with primary source books; interviewing persons responsible for decisions; trying out the usefulness of formulas.

If the problem has grown out of a situation faced by the pupils (ideally, if it has been suggested by the pupils), the activity of investigating it will have purposes highly important for the pupils. The pupils will accept the teachers' purposes for their own and proceed to do a better job because they fully understand what they are about to do and why they are to do it. There will be, that is, great curiosity already existing. Consequently, though there is necessarily a great amount of freedom allowed the pupil in seeking for the evidences bearing upon the problem, the strong purpose involved should prevent floundering.

Illustrations

Cooking was part of a first-grade unit on "Neighborhood Stores." First the children found the recipe and read it to see what ingredients were needed. They found out how much money was needed—if rationed food, how many points. This involved the use of money. At the self-service grocery, the children had to look for the cereal shelf and then find the box of Farina. They learned to follow directions by reading the recipe and doing exactly as it said. They also learned to use a clock and count minutes when the recipe gave a specified amount of time, as in baking the cookies. (1)

Frequent walks gave one first-grade class opportunities to see many things in their different stages of development and also helped them to make more and better observations. Specimens in their room furnished them with splendid opportunities for comparisons and further study. Birds' nests gave them a fine chance to study that which was nearly always too far away. And so their curiosity about and interest in nest structure and composition has a less aggressive nature. Many plants gave splendid examples of seed distribution. (2)

The social studies department has surveyed their community on occasions to measure the thinking of its people on certain questions. (3)

A large thermometer was drawn on wrapping paper, showing mercury, figures, and also words. Beside it was a chart for each day of the week. The second-grade children recorded temperature readings. (4)

A chart was marked off in inches and made available to second-grade children so they could measure each other. (5)

Children became accustomed to animals in the classroom and to their bearing of young. This provided for frank discussion of babies. They got the mother rabbit before her babies were born. They learned that "some babies grow in mothers." (6)

* Reproduced from *What Schools Can Do.*

In the general science class much of the work is organized around the problems of the students. Every afternoon students may be found in the laboratory trying out some of their ideas. They are given pretty much of a free hand provided that the experiments they suggest are not dangerous. It is the feeling of the teacher that pupils for their own satisfaction need to try many experiments that would seem obvious. Students bring their findings to the class where they are examined by the somewhat critical eyes of the other students. (7)

This year one teacher made a special effort to make the teaching of the Pythagorean theory as concrete as possible. Countless problems were worked according to scale on squared paper. The sides were carefully measured and the data for each problem was recorded. One obvious conclusion was noted. The hypotenuse was smaller than the sum of the two smaller legs but always larger than the longer leg. This observation may seem simple, but it took a long time to get that idea across. But as one child observed, "It put a ceiling on the length of the hypotenuse and ruled out impossible answers." Following this they applied their knowledge of square root and showed that the formula could be used to solve their problems and that the formula method was a little more accurate and slightly more reliable. (8)

The Film Critics' Club gives moviegoing an intellectual value, making the movie habit into something better than just a way to kill time. Helpful materials are very plentiful. Discussion guides, advance notes from Hollywood, and numerous bulletins are available. With the aid of such materials, young movie-goers learn to recognize and evaluate the many techniques and problems met in production. Discussion meetings, collection of scrapbook and file materials, and preview trips to see new films are some of the activities for the film critics. (9)

The ninth grade wrote a pre-election letter to the local newspaper, both asking for and giving information about the candidates and the offices to which they wished to be elected. Problems producing thinking situations were: (1) finding out what offices were to be filled and the duties attached to them; (2) finding out how many people knew what they were voting for; (3) planning an inquiring reporter campaign; (4) planning the questions to be asked each person accosted. (10)

A second-grade child raised this question, "What happened to the water on mother's potatoes when they burned?" The children thought about the problem and wondered what caused it to disappear. One member of the class suggested an experiment, "Let's try boiling some water and see what happens to it." The class all went to the cafeteria. Some water was put in a pan and boiled. As the water boiled off in steam, the children could see for themselves what had happened. (11)

check lists that have been developed in connection with these studies. In selecting one or more for use, it is well to hold in mind that various manifestations of the evolution taking place in the American school system may be observed in any school, but that the practices reported in such a document as *What Schools Can Do*[1] will be rather scanty except for the pioneering schools.

[1] *What Schools Can Do*, *op. cit.*

TABLE 4.—ARTISTIC AND CREATIVE ABILITY: PATTERN 5 OF WINDOW IV (Exploration of the Abilities of Pupils through Discovery and Measurement of Interests and Needs)

PROVIDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR WIDE EXPLORATION OF INDIVIDUAL TALENT AND FOR MUCH INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP EXPRESSION AT EVERY TALENT LEVEL IN MANY CREATIVE FIELDS

Great hope for general American cultural and creative renascence inheres in the success which better public schools have had in drawing out of pupils the very finest of imaginative and creative expression in the arts—especially if techniques for doing this become general in all schools. Periods of intense musical, artistic, literary, or architectural production in the world's history have shown, first, provision for the highest development of the talents of the outstanding creative geniuses of the period; second, provision for enormous creative productivity of the "lesser lights" of the period furnishing a sort of challenge for the geniuses to surpass; and third, for every creator, literally hundreds of thousands of others who understood, appreciated, supported, and "consumed" the productions of the masters in the artistic medium of the period.

This threefold design is general for any form of human expression during any period of its highest development—as now in the fields of science and technology. Just as the greatest contribution toward the interpretation of reality which the Middle Ages has left us lies in their architecture, and that which the Greeks have left us lies in their sculpture, philosophy, and drama, and that which the Renaissance has left us lies in part in painting, so too the greatest contribution of our present age toward an understanding of what the world is really like lies in the field of science. We have our scientific geniuses and inventors; we have also those lesser technologists who adapt the productions of the great; and third, we have a vast multitude who understand, appreciate, support, and consume the productions of these masters of science.

Though our great contribution up to now has been in science—with its benefits and its evils—there is reason to hope that our age may recapture the facility for important creative production in the fine arts. No one who has seen in some of our better schools the tremendous exploitation of such fields as music, dancing, dramatics and speaking, creative writing and poetry, painting, sculpture, and construction could fail to be impressed by this possibility. Largely the conditioners of such activities are variety of media for expression, individualization of opportunity, sympathetic teaching, stimulating atmosphere, and program flexlbility to permit sufficient amounts of time for concentration in creative areas. One of the most important considerations in developing the threefold design mentioned above is the provision of abundant and varied opportunities for expression, performance, and exhibition, not only for the most talented, but for all.

Illustrations

Wide opportunity is given ninth-grade pupils to experiment with color. Out of the three colors, red, yellow, and blue, children produced, empirically, up to 20 new colors in combination. Comparison was made with music in which basic tones are used to produce chords. Formation of unusual shapes in these colors was encouraged. The next step was an attempt to express moods in colors: sadness, happiness, anger, a storm, fire, war. (1)

Children especially talented in art are given a special opportunity to develop

* Reproduced from *What Schools Can Do.*

such talent in special classes held during the activity period. Because these groups are small, instruction is almost entirely individual and there is complete freedom in choice of subject. The wide range of mediums used include oil paint, water color, linoleum, clay, wood, and many simpler mediums. (2)

One teacher stresses the *therapeutic* value of clay. Emotional therapy through art is a practice closely related to the present pattern and its possibilities are recognized by most good art teachers. (3)

Masks were first mentioned by fourth-grade children following a visit to the Museum of Natural History in New York. Much interest was shown in the masks used by the Indians in their dances. The children decided they would like to make Indian masks illustrating storybook characters, and many chose their inspiration from funny paper characters such as Dagwood, Blondie, and Mickey Mouse. (4)

Instrumental instruction includes pedal tympani, oboe, bassoon, chimes, marimba, vibra harp, as well as the more usual instruments. Development of talent for the more difficult instruments is started early in the elementary schools of this system through the use of melody flutes, tonettes, and other pre-band instruments as exploratory devices. (5)

In one senior high school there are four sophomore glee clubs, three junior glee clubs, and one advanced glee club, plus one chorus period per week for every pupil not otherwise engaged in formal music work. Four-part singing in assemblies provides additional outlet. (6)

Elementary school has a 35-piece band with good instrumentation including flutes, clarinets, saxophones, cornets, baritone, trombones, altos, tuba, and drums. There are also numerous small instrumental groups. (7)

A robed boys' choir is a picked group from grades four, five and six of one school. All of the accompanists for the glee club, boys' choir, and orchestra are piano students. (8)

For girls with exceptional voices who can read music at sight and show unusual love of music a choir of 24 is featured in many school programs and sings in churches and for other community functions. (9)

Children of one kindergarten enjoy experimenting with instruments. A xylophone and a set of chimes are used for this purpose by one teacher. Though the piano is a complex instrument, this teacher uses it to allow children to originate simple tunes. (10)

A French class wanted to give an assembly program but there was always the problem of how to hold the interest of an audience almost totally ignorant of the language. The familiar tale of "Snow White" was selected. The class wrote its own French version in five scenes. One girl sang the class's French lyrics to the original songs. (11)

In Mort and Cornell's *Guide for Self-appraisal of School Systems,*[1] however, no practice was included that was not found in at least one of forty school systems spending at the average level for the United States in 1935. It is made up of proven practices well past the pioneering stage. Yet it was found in Pennsylvania in the late thirties that the practices listed in it were on the average only 33 per

[1] Mort, Paul R., and Francis G. Cornell, *A Guide for Self-appraisal of School Systems,* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937.

TABLE 5.—DESIRABLE BEHAVIOR IN PRACTICAL SITUATIONS: PATTERN 2 OF WINDOW V*

(Developing Character and Personality Adjustment)

GIVING PUPILS REAL PRACTICE IN MEETING THE DEMANDS OF LIFE AND IN RESPONDING WITH DESIRABLE PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR UNDER CAPABLE GUIDANCE IN LIFELIKE SITUATIONS IN SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

The development of character epitomizes the very essence of the principle of growth. Its careful nurture is long and painstaking. Desirable patterns of behavior in a growing child can only emerge as a result of the child's experience in an environment which requires him to use them over and over again many different times year after year. We can see the effect of different kinds of environment in operation every time we compare the differences in character of two pupils from different types of homes—where living *is* real.

In school the reality of situations that develop character need not be forced. Wherever a group of people live together as in a community or a school, common needs are generated by the very fact of living together. When pupils of a fourth-grade class work together to put on a luncheon, or when pupils of a ninth-grade mathematics class keep the books for the school cafeteria or plan to take a trip to the power plant, they are engaged in activities whose purposes are closely identified by pupils with their own. These real activities generated by pupils' own interests furnish the setting for the development of many desirable patterns of behavior.

Or there may be activities that are more playlike—situations deliberately created or set up by teachers as imitations of adult patterns of behavior through which pupils may experience the kinds of responses which may be expected of them when they grow up. Typical of these are the Student Court or an imaginary trip across the country in which exists much of the social experience inherent in the real thing.

Pattern 1 deals with the imitation of good character through precept; Pattern 2 deals with the development of good character through living. The principal emphasis of Pattern 2 is upon the provision of opportunities for pupils to practice desirable traits of behavior.

Illustrations

Students have participated in many rationing activities, serving as ushers, clerks, alphabetizers, and in many other ways. Through these activities they have gained the feeling of being part of the war effort. It has given them considerable experience in dealing with all kinds of people under somewhat difficult conditions. (1)

A Flower Committee of six girls arranges flowers in vases and distributes them to the ninth-grade home-room teachers and to those faculty members who have no home rooms. (2)

Little Theater groups work during their English periods in their laboratory preparing plays for class presentation. The laboratory is nothing more than the wide corridor adjacent to the English room known as the Little Theater, a room with a stage, curtain, and other fixings dear to youngsters of junior-high age. Thirty or thirty-five pupils working in groups of five, six, or more prepare their productions under the direction of student chairmen. Each person is free to interpret his part in any manner the group considers sincere and in character. We strive definitely to develop tact by

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discussing with the group as a whole the importance of selling one's idea to the group, the constructive, tactful way to criticize and change what needs to be changed. (3)

The Courtesy Committee functions each period throughout the day. This committee is composed of boys and girls from the study groups who are representative yet selected because of their gentility, natural attractiveness, and dependability. They greet strangers who come into the building and direct them to the office. They assist in seating visitors who attend the school assembly. They are on the alert for aimless wanderers in the corridors. In fact, they perform many small duties. After the committee has been organized and a capable chairman selected, it needs almost no teacher supervision. The chairman makes the rounds daily to check the attendance of those on duty for the day and carries a list of alternates. All complaints are registered with the chairman who in turn reports to the faculty sponsor. Chairmanship of this committee automatically makes one a member of the Student-teacher Council. Thus all committee chairmen have direct contact with Council representatives from all home rooms. This sets up a natural clearinghouse for school problems. (4)

At the beginning of each week a group of leaders are chosen whose duties include the various jobs necessary to the conduct of our room. They include care of blackboards, plants, library books, running of errands, care of gym supplies, conduct of groups to lavatory in morning and afternoon, a housekeeper for the desks, a host or hostess for the reception of visitors, and a general chairman to conduct the class in the absence of the teacher. Each leader is responsible for his chosen job for a week. At the end of that time he chooses a classmate for the same task. In this way not only leadership is developed, but the ability to follow the suggestions of one's own age-group leader as well. (5)

The growth of sportmanship and character through playing competitive games with other classes has been very interesting to watch. This second grade was learning softball. After playing alone for several weeks to learn the rules and get some ability, they asked the third grade to play them. The teacher had prepared them to take a beating, which they did—and took very well. The spirit was fine! They saw what the older children did better than they and where they needed more practice. They wanted very much to beat the other class and worked hard. After trying two or three games they were able to win and were very delighted. But they still showed the same good spirit. There was no bragging about it to the others which pleased both teachers. It was excellent for both classes and both teachers felt that their classes had gained by their play. (6)

Fridays the boys' and girls' physical education classes meet together in the gym for supervised square dancing. This helps in overcoming shyness and students learn some social amenities. (7)

cent diffused.[1] In other words, the average Pennsylvania community made a score of only a little above 300 out of a possible 1,000. Similarly, it was found that the average score of Rhode Island communities

[1] Mort, Paul R., and Francis G. Cornell, *American Schools in Transition*, Chap. I, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941.

TABLE 6.—WHAT ADMINISTRATION DOES: PATTERN 4 OF WINDOW X*
(Regard for the Individual)

PROVIDING THROUGH ADMINISTRATION AND LEADERSHIP THOSE ADJUSTMENTS NECESSARY TO EFFECT A WHOLE-SCHOOL ORGANIZATION DESIGNED TO PERMIT MAXIMUM REALIZATION FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL

Individual teachers can do little, specialists can do little to foster the growth of individual pupils unless the school leadership and those procedures of administration which affect over-all planning and organization are dedicated to principles of individual development. This may mean special class arrangements, which is only a beginning and possibly not a continuing administrative device for doing something about individual differences. It concerns promotion policies. There may be a considerable variation in the size of groups which carry on different types of activities. There is certainly in the good school a considerable variety in the types of activities in which individuals may engage—club groups, hobby groups, tutoring groups, remedial groups. There are administrative arrangements which make it possible for single pupils to work with a single staff person, as in the counseling situation. This last arrangement can, under the best conditions, be extended to provide some opportunity for the one pupil in the school who may need it—the study of some special subject through a contract arrangement, the supervision of a single student taking a correspondence course, or the supervision of some student doing individual investigations at home. Curricular offerings are varied in such a way that an individual, no matter what his major course, may undertake the study of any area or receive experiences in any field which may be deemed of value for him—as the college-going student may have industrial arts experiences, the career-going girl may prepare for home management as well, or the commercial student may take up art or music as a hobby. These are some of the methods by which administration can protect the individual's right to an adequate amount of differentiation in his school work.

Illustrations

The school took a vacant room and furnished it for the children's free time. It contains large and small tables, comfortable chairs, books of creative works, articles, and pictures. A child may go there in any free time he has before or after school or during the day in his free time.

Teachers volunteered to be there to act as consultants if the children needed help. (1)

Children with special ability in art, music, industrial arts, and science are given opportunity for special experiences in their field of interest. (2)

Students who have been absent and need to make up work and students who are having difficulty with some phase of their work may receive help each morning, from students specially qualified in the various school subjects who make their services available. At one table there will be an algebra expert, and at another a French expert, etc. (3)

The committee to aid the more capable students works with those pupils whose I.Q.'s are above 120. Each member chooses 12 or 15 from this group and by personal conference tries to give him incentive for working to full capacity or to encourage him in his own plans, ambitions, and interests. (4)

An exhibit in one of the school showcases made everyone stop and admire. It was wax models of dinosaurs about 2 inches high which were well proportioned and in realistic setting. The

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explanatory legend on the card beside the exhibit said that it was created by a third-grade boy. This small boy had found an interest strong enough to make him master many skills in order to pursue that interest. He had been a non-reader in grades one and two. The teacher and mother had explored his interests and guided him to follow one which took him into reading as well as into many other activities. (5)

Any student may register in the Language Department. The pupil and his parents decide on the language to be studied. No student is refused permission to register for language study because of inferior I.Q. or poor elementary-school achievement. It is felt that this type of pupil benefits in many ways from one year of foreign language study. His associates in the classroom alone are often as valuable as any phase of the work. (6)

Teachers are alert to the abilities of the superior students, and often such students are placed in advanced classes. Students in first- or second-year language classes are transferred to more advanced classes. Pupils in elementary algebra classes are sometimes transferred to Intermediate Algebra. (7)

Individual talents and aptitudes are developed through dramatics, radio broadcasting, puppetry, orchestra and singing, arts and crafts, and creative writing and school publications. Pupils of unusual talent and aptitude, as revealed in the elementary school, are admitted to specialized high schools, such as "Music and Art," "Science," and "Technical." (8)

Students are allowed to cover the work of General Science and Biology in one year and a half providing they show high reading ability and above average ability in science during their first term as freshmen. This makes it possible for these students to select one of the many subjects in our curriculum which are exploratory in nature, such as art, music, and mechanical drawing. (9)

One hundred per cent promotion is practiced in the elementary. Each child is taught from what he already knows. For instance, in a sixth grade there is a boy doing work that an average seven-year old would be doing. He gains information in social studies, science, etc. from class discussion. His reading and arithmetic is at a seven-year old level. (10)

As far as possible the basis for home-room grouping in the high school depends more upon the type of classes meeting in the room and the interests of the individual students than upon such factors as I.Q.'s or sex. For example pupils who are intensely interested in science are assigned to a science room while others who are enthusiastic about books and writing are placed in an English room. (11)

in 1940 was but 498. On the other hand, 28 communities in the New York metropolitan area, typical of the 65 on which the study *What Schools Can Do* was based, averaged well above 900.

Accordingly, the Mort-Cornell guide may be found quite satisfactory for a great many school systems, to be followed up, perhaps, by a check on the more recently developed adaptations, such as those appearing in the document *What Schools Can Do* (see Table 8).

A check in terms of the more recent developments can be obtained by a simple application of the document *What Education Our Money Buys*. This gives 39 patterns of practice observed in approximately

TABLE 7.—EXTENSION OF STAFF AND PLANT THROUGH COORDINATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES: PATTERN 6 OF WINDOW XII*

The Composite Staff

USING THE LAY PERSONNEL OF THE COMMUNITY TO SUPPLEMENT THE SERVICES OF TEACHERS IN PROVIDING AN ENRICHED PROGRAM, AND THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE COMMUNITY TO EXPAND AND ENRICH EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

It is a fact that in better schools the community is used educationally. Community use is of two kinds: using the people of the community, and using the community itself—its stores, factories, plants, farms, offices, cultural resources, and institutions.

The provision of a wide variety of activities and opportunities to pupils has raised some pertinent problems as to staffing, for teachers cannot be expected to extend the length of their services indefinitely in supervising extra programs. Many good schools have utilized the rich background and experiences of the laymen in their communities to provide extended activities and opportunities for pupils. Laymen staff libraries, conduct trips, supervise clubs and hobby groups in which they have a special interest, even teach informal class groups of an enrichment type—like science classes in the elementary school. Fathers come into the classroom to talk about their occupations. Parents who have traveled relate their experiences to groups of pupils, often offering examples of things they have collected in their travels. Speakers and lecturers from the community who have some special competence are frequently used in assemblies and classes.

A similar use is made of pupils in many of the best schools. There are "nurses' aides" used in the medical profession. Pupils used in this fashion might be called "teachers' aides"—older pupils who, after a preliminary course of instruction in how to work with others, undertake the supervision of younger pupils. The junior-high-school boy supervises a group of elementary-school children in the shop or on the playground. The senior-high-school girl works with nursery-school children. The "honors" student in mathematics conducts a tutoring group composed of less able pupils, etc.

Use of community resources needs little elaboration. Better schools have done this through trips for some time. However, the extent of such utilization has not been generally great or nearly so great as it will become. The beginnings of the kind of utilization that is possible may be seen in the field of the vocations where placement counselors have "lined up" large numbers of business offices and industrial plants in the community to serve in the educational program.

Illustrations

Molly's aunt was visiting at her home. Molly volunteered information that her aunt had been to South America. First graders wrote letters asking her to visit us and tell about her trip. An invitation was sent to another first grade to join us. The result was an informal visit and discussion plus an exhibit of many things the aunt had collected on her trip. (1)

Trips taken in our community: To the firehouse, grocery stores, to gather nuts, and on nature hikes around the school grounds and nearby roadsides and fields, and to the felt mill near our school. (2)

Because the graduating class desired pictures of one another and funds for a photographer were not forthcoming, developing of camera films and the

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printing of pictures was successfully directed by one student. (3)

The P.T.A. made a survey of parent talents and invited these parents to help supervise Hobby Clubs for children on one day a week after school. (4)

Several mothers helped two groups in clay modeling. One of these mothers owned a kiln so that the models were glazed and fired. A unit on the circus and one on South America and Mexico were worked out in these groups. (5)

There were two airplane-modeling groups, one marionnette group, and one music appreciation group. (6)

In the spring nature walks are taken by mothers, teachers, and children to study birds, wild flowers and their conservation, trees, and minerals. (7)

A museum is being set up by these groups to study animal, insect, plant, mineral, and sea life. We are fortunate to have on the faculty a person who formerly served in the Brooklyn Museum for Children. Leadership is very important in such a project. (8)

As a result of interest aroused in the music classes, pupils attend various concerts, recitals, and the ballet given by nationally known artists. Pupils pay for their own tickets, travel fare, and dinner, and under teacher sponsorship make this an intellectual and social event. They attend every week the opera and symphony orchestra concerts. (9)

The Cooperative Plan of Business Education is conducted on a system which permits twelfth-year students in the Commercial Course to alternate two weeks of school with two weeks of work. The work, that of a stenographer, a typist, a clerk, or a messenger, affords valuable experience to the student in giving him an orientation in his chosen field. To the employer comes an opportunity to engage in a worthy civic enterprise—that of training young men and women for useful citizenship, and an opportunity to observe candidates for his own permanent staff. To the teacher acting as assistant to the coordinator is given an unequaled opportunity for guidance, and a delightful satisfaction in placing the right person in the right job. An entente cordiale, which serves as a strong interpretive force, exists between the parties of the three parts—the student, the employer, and the school. (10)

Because of the desire to get teachers out-of-doors and to interest citizens in conservation, a wealthy woman gave the Nature Study Department the use of her hunting lodge for a Nature Study School. Every nature study teacher in the elementary school is invited to accept the invitation for a week's instruction under the supervisor. There is no expense except the food and its preparation. This has never exceeded $5.00. Sixty teachers have had one week, and many of them more. (11)

In the first grade the teacher had ascertained the occupation of every child's father. The class will start soon on a project of attempting to describe each of these occupations through the child getting the story from the parent and then telling it to his classmates. Fathers are encouraged also to write a brief description to be sent to the teacher who will read it to the class. (12)

100 New York State communities during the fall of 1942. A simple instruction manual for such use appears as Appendix B. Table 9 shows the scope of the instrument.

Taking advantage of even more recent developments a check may be made in terms of the 101 patterns appearing in *What Schools Can Do.*

*TABLE 8.—STATUS OF THE SCHOOLS IN TERMS OF 23 GROUPS OF ESTABLISHED ADAPTATIONS

Adaptations	Maximum possible score	Your score
a. Flexibility of curriculum	70	________
b. Breadth of curriculum	70	________
c. Courses of study	70	________
d. Fields of learning	91	________
e. Extracurricular activities	49	________
f. Instructional materials	56	________
g. Educational accounting	56	________
h. Census and attendance	48	________
i. Guidance: educational and vocational	42	________
j. The individual and the educational program	60	________
k. Health service	54	________
l. Professionalization of personnel	40	________
m. Supervision of instruction	40	________
n. Grade and subject organization	25	________
o. Administrative planning	25	________
p. Status of control	35	________
q. Scope of school influence in the community	40	________
r. School plant planning	15	________
s. The school site	15	________
t. School buildings	30	________
u. Special rooms	30	________
v. Supplies and equipment	21	________
w. Financial accounting	21	________
Total "Lag Book" score	1,003	

Table for Computing Standard Scores

Lag Book Score		*Standard Score*
50		30
100		34
150		37
200		40
250		43
300		47
350	Mean	50
400		53
450		57
500		60
550		63
600		66
650		70
700		73
750		76
800		80
850		83
900		86
950		89
1,000		93

Mean, 350, Sigma, 15.2

* This table gives the possible score on each of the 23 combinations of the 182 adaptations covered by the Mort-Cornell *Guide for Self-appraisal of School Systems* and standard score equivalents of total scores based on a sampling of Pennsylvania communities.

*TABLE 9.—STATUS OF THE SCHOOLS IN TERMS OF 39 EMERGING EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

Educational practices	Maximum possible score	Your score
I. Reading, writing, arithmetic:		
1. The three R's as useful tools.	12	______
2. Skills in addition to the three R's.	12	______
3. Methods for teaching individuals.	12	______
4. Teaching pupils how to study.	12	______
II. Basic knowledge for Americans:		
1. Sound methods, up-to-date materials.	12	______
2. Revised courses continually added.	12	______
3. Varied talent of teachers.	12	______
III. Learning to think:		
1. Chance for pupils to think.	12	______
2. Stimulation of pupil thinking.	12	______
3. Teachers as guides to growth in thinking.	12	______
IV. Exploring pupils' abilities:		
1. Activities, courses to explore pupils' abilities.	12	______
2. Interests used to enrich studies.	12	______
V. The growth of character:		
1. Chances for normal character growth.	12	______
2. School plan for building character.	12	______
3. Teaching focused positively on each pupil.	12	______
VI. Health and safety of children:		
1. Medical attention assuring sound bodies.	12	______
2. Completeness of sports program.	12	______
3. Buildings and grounds related to health and safety	12	______
4. Healthy living a part of all instruction.	12	______
VII. Homes for America:		
1. Predominance of practical experience in homemaking.	12	______
2. Book information related to real living.	12	______
3. Teachers able to guide pupils through life problems.	12	______
VIII. The world of work:		
1. Practical experience in job training.	12	______
2. Plans for making workers cover whole school.	12	______
3. Book information related to real problems.	12	______
4. Individual help in preparation and placement.	12	______
IX. Making citizens:		
1. Practical experience used.	12	______
2. Book information related to real problems.	12	______
3. Citizenship training in every teacher's plans	12	______

*Table 9.—Status of the Schools in Terms of 39 Emerging Educational Practices.—(*Continued*)

Educational practices	Maximum possible score	Your score
X. Regard for the individual:		
1. Use of scientific methods....	12	______
2. Little chance for a youngster to miss his chance..........	12	______
XI. The school and the community:		
1. Public knowledge of what good schools can do	12	______
2. Cooperation of staff, public and pupils..	12	______
3. The school a real power in the community	12	______
XII. The teacher and the school:		
1. Poise, personality, background, experience, etc..........	12	______
2. Availability of specialists..........	12	______
3. Planning and advanced study by teachers.	12	______
4. Adequacy of equipment and materials.	12	______
5. Statesmanship of school executive...	12	______
Total		
Your score	468	______

Standard Score Based on a Sampling of 20 Suburban Communities of the New York City Area

Score		*Standard Score*
50		17
100		23
150		30
250		37
250		43
300	Mean	50
350		57
400		63
450		70

* This table gives the score on each of 39 emerging patterns of educational practice based on *What Education Our Money Buys* and standard score equivalents of total scores. (Note that these standard scores are on a different group of communities spending on the average somewhere near twice as much as the average community in the group used in Table 8.)

Considerable use of this book as a self-study device has been made by teachers and lay groups. As this book goes to press there is as yet no systematic guide that would result in a score by means of which one school could be compared with others.[1] However, an instrument used in the spring of 1945 reflects the four major phases discussed

[1] Considerable work has been done on this by the staff of the Metropolitan School Study Council.

TABLE 10.—SUMMARY SHEET AND STANDARD SCORES FOR THE GROWING EDGE—AN INSTRUMENT FOR MEASURING THE ADAPTABILITY OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS*

	Elementary	Maximum possible score	High school	Maximum possible score
I. Basic skills		9		15
Taught in lifelike situations	. ..5		5	
Variety of the basic skills	. .4		.4	
Reading	. .1		.1	
Mathematics	. .1		.1	
English composition	. .1		. .1	
Speech	. .1		. .1	
Teaching of skills in high school			. ..6	
II. Basic knowledge		14		14
Meaning and usefulness	. .6		. .6	
Breadth of knowledge	. 4		. .4	
Printed materials	.1		. .1	
Concrete aids	1		. 1	
Variety of experience	1		. .1	
Personnel resources	.1		. .1	
Local community as resource	.4		. .4	
III. Discovery and development of aptitudes		25		37
Scientific means	.5		. ..5	
Enriched experiences	.20		. .21	
Variety of courses in high school			. ..6	
Outside experiences			.5	
IV. Gross behavior patterns		16		19
Development of competence in thinking	3		. .4	
Development of character	. ..4		. .4	
Development of citizenship	.4		. ..4	
Teacher as observer and guide	...5		. ..7	
Totals		64		85

* By Paul R. Mort, W. S. Vincent, and Clarence A. Newell, published by the Metropolitan School Study Council and distributed by the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1946.

above and provides a basis for appraising the school as a "setting for growth."[1] It provides for checking the school at two levels, the fifth and eleventh grades, on the same four functions: Basic Skills (in lifelike situations and in variety); Areas of Knowledge (meaning and usefulness, breadth, use of community); Discovery and Development

[1] MORT, PAUL R., WILLIAM S. VINCENT, and CLARENCE A. NEWELL, *The Growing Edge, an Instrument for Measuring the Adaptability of School Systems*, New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 1946. Distributed by the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

TABLE 10.—(*Continued*) ELEMENTARY ADAPTABILITY SCORE—STANDARD SCORE
Based on Scores from 60 Metropolitan Area School Systems
Range of scores, 7.6 to 34.7; mean score, 17.6; sigma, 6.4

Score	Standard score	Score	Standard score
1	23	26	62
2	25	27	64
3	27	28	66
4	28	29	67
5	30	30	69
6	31	31	70
7	33	32	72
8	34	33	73
9	36	34	75
10	38	35	77
11	39	36	78
12	41	37	80
13	42	38	81
14	44	39	83
15	45	40	84
16	47	41	86
17	48	42	87
18	(Mean) 50	43	89
19	52	44	91
20	53	45	92
21	55	46	94
22	56	47	95
23	58	48	97
24	59	49	98
25	61		

of Special Aptitudes (through scientific means, and through exploratory experiences, and enriched opportunities); and Gross Behavior Patterns (thinking, character, citizenship, teacher as observer and guide). Examples are given for the fifth grade level and for the eleventh grade level, with provisions for substitutions. The indications are that experienced educators can readily make substitutions on other grade levels, but systematic application has been limited to the fifth and eleventh grade levels.

Tables 8 to 10 provide summary sheets for these three appraisal devices.

EXTENSIONS DOWNWARD AND UPWARD

Conceivably we could think of schools simply as resource stations where children are to learn certain skills and knowledges, unrelated to use, leaving to other life forces the integration of these skills and

TABLE 10.—(*Continued*) HIGH-SCHOOL ADAPTABILITY SCORE—STANDARD SCORE
Based on Scores from 50 High Schools in the Metropolitan Area
Range of scores, 9 to 54.5; mean score, 29.7; sigma, 11.03

Score	Standard score	Score	Standard score	Score	Standard score
1	24	29	49	57	74
2	25	30	(Mean) 50	58	75
3	26	31	51	59	76
4	26	32	52	60	77
5	27	33	53	61	78
6	28	34	54	62	79
7	29	35	55	63	80
8	30	36	55	64	81
9	31	37	56	65	82
10	32	38	57	66	83
11	33	39	58	67	84
12	34	40	59	68	84
13	35	41	60	69	85
14	35	42	61	70	86
15	36	43	62	71	87
16	37	44	63	72	88
17	38	45	64	73	89
18	39	46	65	74	90
19	40	47	65	75	91
20	41	48	66	76	92
21	42	49	67	77	93
22	43	50	68	78	94
23	44	51	69	79	94
24	45	52	70	80	95
25	45	53	71	81	96
26	46	54	72	82	97
27	47	55	73	83	98
28	48	56	74	84	99

knowledges acquired into intelligence and character. In such case, the only reasons for extending the years of education downward and upward would be to provide more information and skills, to extend "institutional care" in the early formative years, or to keep young people off the labor market in later years. However, when we consider the possibility of the school in molding intelligence, character, personality, and citizenship, we may well ask the question as to whether the growing organism has not already been pretty well conditioned before we start to work with it in the primary grades and whether it has come to maturity by the time the high-school years are over.

This latter consideration has received increasing emphasis in the treatment of children under six and some emphasis in dealing with young people beyond high-school age. The moment we think of the school as concerned with these slowly developing behavior patterns, we see it no longer as a resource institution but rather as a partner with parents, and the church, and the community at large, for all life is the soil on which these characteristics develop. Whatever it may mean for the extension of the school's relations with home and community for youngsters of six to eighteen, it becomes increasingly clear that the home is the sole teacher prior to the youngster's entering school. What is this home school doing about these slow-growing characteristics of the individual? How can the mother, whose sole license to teach may be the marriage license, be helped in this deep task of the observer and guide of growth? Clearly the implications are that something must be done toward parental education—some of it, perhaps, while the future parent is still in high school. The school may well develop nursery schools to supplement the home in the important years between the time when the child flourishes best in the simple home environment and the time when "formal" schooling begins. This, it will be noted, is a far more sweeping thing than "getting children ready for reading" or getting them "socially adjusted for formal schooling." It is far more demanding than the purposes of the typical kindergarten. Groups must be small; teachers must be skilled in the developmental phenomena of these gross behavior patterns as they occur in the younger years, just as a master high-school teacher must be aware of the phenomena that occur in the evolution of the same behavior patterns during adolescence.

Clearly, the primary teachers must be skilled also in helping the parents of their children, particularly first parents, to develop a working relationship with the school so that the whole life pattern of the growing individual students can be under consistent observation and guidance. The teachers of the higher grades must be competent to carry on with this home-school relationship.

These same considerations call into question present practices as to length of school day, school week, and school year. Many schools are pioneering in the process of joining hands with the "other teachers in home and community" who have a part in the upbringing of the young, so that school, home, and community may be part of a continuous and consistent setting for the growth of the slowly developing behavior patterns. Under this influence the school day is running on into the evening, the school week into Saturday and Sunday, the school year into and through the summer. But the "running over" is not in formal classes;

rather it is in clubs and trips, work experience during the year, and summer work arrangements, all receiving increased attention by the school "as observer and guide" of personal development.

The post high-school (or post-school leaving) period is also receiving attention. Many schools follow up their graduates (front and back door). Considerable attention is given to job placement and follow-up and to vocational guidance and training before leaving school. These are true extensions upward. The development of junior colleges and technical institutes on the junior-college level are more formal arrangements for upward extension. While usually in these schools the knowledge or skill phases have received the chief stress, it is probable that, as the emphasis on the slow growth aspects of human development becomes greater, the citizenship, personality, home competence, and character aspect of education will receive at least equal attention.

SUMMARY

In the operation of a school system this year, purposes have no more meaning than they are given by the available devices (inventions) for achieving them. In fact, they have no greater significance than the devices of which those operating the schools are masters. It is clear, therefore, that it is essential for school administrators to be aware of the best devices invented and on the alert for the emergence of new inventions of ways of achieving purposes.

This chapter gives an over-all view of devices in use in some of the more favored school systems. Some are well developed, some fairly widely used, and some only in the tryout stage. The purposes they serve fall into four categories:

1. Basic skills in greater variety taught through more years and increasingly in life situations or in lifelike situations.
2. Expansion of knowledge mastered with greater emphasis on usefulness, increased use of firsthand situations, and community, physical, and personnel resources.
3. Discovery and development of special aptitudes in the wide range of the arts man lives by and with, through scientific devices, exploratory experiences, and more capable observers and guides.
4. Attention to a better shaping of the gross behavior patterns (thinking, character, citizenship, home living), which we might think of as designs for living, by use of enriched experience settings, and keen observers and guides of slowly unfolding personality.

Devices are available for appraising schools over a wide range and include both the earlier developments in education and the four areas listed above.

These developments challenge the character of the planning for children in out-of-school hours throughout the year and suggest greater cooperation with the home aspect of the educational enterprise. They likewise broaden the base for appraisal of development before school age and the adequacy of arrangements for continued development beyond the high school.

Exercises

1. Reread the heading and short title of the pattern of practice given in Table 1. Without further reading of this table write a description of what some elementary or high-school group with which you are familiar does along this line. Rate it on a scale of 10. Then read all the material in this table and see whether or not your rating of the practices you have described changes.

2. As an alternative to No. 1, the members of the class may wish to visit a small school system obtaining descriptions and ratings as above on the various grade and high-school groups. The descriptions and ratings may well be assembled on a single chart showing the unfolding of the educational practices in the given area throughout the school life of the pupils.

(Note: If a copy of *What Schools Can Do* is available, the instructor may wish to choose some of the 101 patterns of practice listed in Appendix A which are not given in detail in the tables of this chapter.)

3. Indicate what changes are likely to occur in schools as a result of one of the following technological developments: the moving picture, radio, television, microfilm, or cheap airplane travel. If you prefer, appraise the adequacy of the response of educational administration to the automobile, the phonograph, the mimeograph.

4. Trace the effect of discovery of new methods of achieving educational purposes on the meaning of the purposes and on the design for American education as reflected in *Education for All American Youth.*

5. Can you suggest an area of unmet needs in your school system or some system with which you are familiar? Can you suggest "inventions" to meet these needs?

6. What are three emerging patterns that you predict will be widely accepted 25 years hence?

7. What would you select as the most significant change in education in the last 25 years?

8. If the student is keeping a "resource book" he may find it profitable to set up a table of emerging patterns, illustrated by quotations, clippings, specific references, etc. Another procedure that the student may follow would be to set up parallel lists of needs and methods of meeting these needs. Further, the student should be alert to gathering real inventions in methodology. As much as possible the student should attempt to implement general remarks by suggested applications.

9. What is your reaction to the statement, "This is the time for education to 'jell' into a consistent form, not to crystallize"?

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PART II

Common Sense in School Administration

CHAPTER VI

INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES OF BASIC PRINCIPLES EXPRESSING THE COMMON SENSE OF THE CULTURE

The heart of the school administrator's work is problem solving. While the administrator utilizes scientific method in many aspects of his work, at its very core his work depends essentially upon what we think of, and often dismiss lightly, as common-sense judgment. Such judgment involves not only an appraisal of the value of an action from the standpoint of educational objectives, but also an appraisal of the reaction of the human beings concerned. The administrator must ask himself the questions that will be raised now and in the future in the community in appraising his judgment. He may have empirical evidence available and may proceed in his judgment with respect to it as well as to the methods of scientific inquiry. In appraising the human side of the problem, however, he is dealing with persons, their beliefs and desires.

In dealing with the purpose principles (as in dealing with empirical knowledge in Chap. XVI) we were faced with the problem of finding useful approaches to the great masses of literature. The task involved great consolidation. Here, however, the task has been quite different in character. There is little written on common sense as it applies to education. The task is to give it a treatment commensurate with its importance in the day-to-day work of the administrator; to place it under a magnifying glass so that it can be seen in detail. Thus only can the administrator have handles to common sense comparable to the handles to purpose achieved by reducing the literature of philosophy, psychology, social trends, and educational practice.

To the reader it may seem a bit presumptuous to seek so to magnify the subject of common sense. We have assumed either that common sense is intuitive (something that everybody has or has not by nature) or something that is absorbed by living in the culture. We have assumed that the one thing a school administrator did not have to learn from books was the general sense of the culture into which he was born. On the other hand, we know that individuals vary in their ability to size up this general sense of the culture. Some succeed very well while others seem to be limited in their insights to a few

stereotypes as to what the community will or will not do. In their own minds they have their leeway cut down to a very narrow margin. From their observations, reported in *American Schools in Transition*, Mort and Cornell have the following to say on this point:

> Many administrators have a series of concepts or stereotypes which they trot out on every possible occasion. They are certain that they know what the board won't do and what particular members won't stand for. They can tell you readily that the community will not stand for this or "We would not dare to mention this in this community." This statement is not to be taken as being opposed to an understanding of school boards and teachers and pupils, but rather as an attack on the too easy classification built up without sufficient study of details.[1]

Furthermore, if coming to understand the culture is to come solely through living in that culture, it is clear that the length of life in the culture, other things being equal, will be an important determiner. We would expect, therefore, that men of fifty would be much better at sizing up the culture than men of twenty-five. This is borne out by observations that men who are able to do a superb job of appraising the community reaction to a problem are usually men of mature years. It suggests that a young man who survives in the work of school administration to mature years must have had most unusual insight or a streak of phenomenal luck which made it possible for him to succeed in spite of an inadequately developed conception of the general sense of the culture.

These observations indicate that a conscious search for the general sense of the culture that has a bearing upon the multitude of problems that must be solved by school administrators would be fruitful, and that it can be learned in appreciable measure by younger men without the hazardous, disappointing years of trial and error. In *H. M. Pulham, Esquire*, a novel by J. P. Marquand, the relater of the tale says, "I never knew where Mr. Wilding got his information. He had some system of forming judgments of his own, some way of sorting facts and putting them together which was nearly always right. I have often wondered whether it was instinct more than brains."[2]

We have all known a Mr. Wilding—a grocer, a banker, a superintendent of schools, or the village Mr. Scattergood. William Paul Krüger was such a man; Franklin was another such man. No matter

[1] MORT, PAUL R., and FRANCIS G. CORNELL, *American Schools in Transition*, p. 216, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941.

[2] MARQUAND, JOHN P., *H. M. Pulham, Esquire*, p. 109, Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1941.

how strange or new a problem is put to him, he can always raise questions which throw new light on it. He listens patiently to the problem; he may go over it two or three times, if necessary, until he can name off the points on his fingers. Then his thinking machine starts working. Uncritically, in a friendly manner, he asks this new question and that new question.

How do such men know what questions to ask of all new things? No situation is new to them because they know the questions which would be asked immediately or eventually. They have mastered the basic elements of wise judgment latent in our culture.

The need for clues to what such men have mastered has not gone unnoted. It has been generally perceived that the understanding of the culture plays a very important part in determining the success of a school administrator. Sometimes it has even seemed to be the single determining factor. There are cases where school administrators have made a great success in spite of giving only a minimum of attention to the strictly educational phases of their job. Outstanding instances of this sort have given rise to much speculation on the value of professional training as we have known it for school administrators, particularly for the larger cities. It has even led to the suggestion that the school superintendent should be comparatively a layman, on the assumption, presumably, that since a layman would not have the professional background he would necessarily have more space in his head for the general sense of the culture.

CORRECTING A WEAKNESS IN PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Recognizing that there was some shortcoming in their offerings for the professional training of superintendents of schools, schools of education have attempted to cope with this problem by encouraging the study of sociology, economics, political science, and even anthropology. The indications are that such studies are not sufficiently definitive. Responses to these attempts have usually lacked enthusiasm. Students have said, "What we learn in such courses is interesting but not particularly useful. Professors are not concerned with our problems. What we need to know is more about 'practical politics.'" It would appear that these courses deal with constellations of culture much greater in scope than those that operate in the solution of the great mass of critical problems arising in the work of the school administrator. These scientists have looked at the terrain from an airplane. They have noted the interesting configurations made by the maple forests on the hilltops and the pines in the valleys. They have charted the watersheds and the courses of the streams. But

their work gives only the most general assistance to the administrator who must plod through the underbrush on foot, over the hills, through the brooks, and around the swamps. Their work still leaves an unfilled need for an understanding of that realm which is outside the fields of scientific inquiry.

The treatment of operational principles in the chapters that follow may even provide a beginning of what students are grasping for when they say, "What we need is more practical politics." Certainly if we exclude from politics the appeal to the self-interest of persons who for one reason or another wield great power in the community, we have left an important realm in which the appeal is to what the greatest number considers the greatest good. In this sense these chapters deal with the practical politics of school administration.

These chapters attempt to present the criteria in terms of which decisions are ultimately made by groups in our culture. They attempt to give an awareness of the bases of judgment of the community and of the society of which the community is a part. They seek to provide guidance through the complex maze involved in every decision, in every recommendation to the board of education, so that consideration may be given from the beginning to those factors in terms of which the proposal or practice will eventually stand or fall. In brief, these chapters are an attempt to provide a preview of the crucible in which practices and proposals will be tested. It is proposed that those practices found wanting will not survive, regardless of their initial success, and that those that pass the test will survive under the strain of experience.

Every judgment should be a balanced judgment in terms of these cultural principles (as well as in terms of purposes and available knowledge from experience elsewhere). To have that judgment a balanced one it is necessary that all criteria for judgment be taken into account. The writer ventures to suggest that the key to Mr. Wilding's uncanny success was not in the information that he had to begin with, but in the questions he asked himself; and that he had no more mysterious or mystical way of getting them together than is found in the operation of any brain of reasonable capacity. Balanced judgment consists in seeing to it that the practice we appraise, the practice we propose, has taken all these criteria into account as fully as possible. Most proposals doubtless arise because of following a rather simple line of thought to its logical conclusion. A practice may be proposed to make the handling of funds safer. We must ask whether or not that practice will result in sacrifices in other areas. If so, what modification of it would achieve reasonable results without sacrifice,

and what modification of it would cause it to serve in other fields as well as in that in which it had its origin? This is involved in achieving balanced judgment. But the writer ventures to say that this is what is known as common sense or practical-mindedness.

Common sense deals with what the community takes for granted. Wirth, in his penetrating preface to Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia,* appraises these unconsciously accepted criteria at a high value. He says:

> When we advocate something, we do not do so as complete outsiders to what is and what will happen. It would be naive to suppose that our ideas are entirely shaped by the objects of our contemplation which lie outside of us or that our wishes and our fears have nothing whatever to do with what we perceive or with what will happen. It would be nearer the truth to admit that those basic impulses which have been generally designated as "interests" actually are the forces which at the same time generate the ends of our practical activity and focus our intellectual attention. While in certain spheres of life, especially in economics and to a lesser degree in politics, these "interests" have been made explicit and articulate, in most spheres they slumber below the surface and disguise themselves in such conventional forms that we do not always recognize them even when they are pointed out to us. The most important thing, therefore, that we can know about a man is what he takes for granted, and the most elemental and important facts about a society are those that are seldom debated and generally regarded as settled.[1]

EVOLUTION OF THE COMMON-SENSE PRINCIPLES

This series of principles was evolved largely from the author's work with various lay groups interested in developing improved systems of school finance in various states. Puzzling questions were raised that could not be answered from the original frame of reference or conceptual design. Tracing these questions to their origins resulted in a gradual evolution of a more and more complex conceptual design. It became increasingly clear that a wide variety of criteria were called into play by a group of persons seeking to appraise a given course of action. To the original criterion of equality were added adaptability, flexibility, and prudence. The list was extended by a systematic search of the literature on home rule, as reported in Mort and Cornell, *Adaptability of Public School Systems.*[2] When it became apparent that these criteria had not flowed from the subject matter of study, but

[1] MANNHEIM, KARL, *Ideology and Utopia,* p. xxiv, New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1936.

[2] MORT, PAUL R., and FRANCIS G. CORNELL, *Adaptability of Public School Systems,* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938.

rather from the culture, and that they applied in greater or less degree to all administrative problems, the design for these chapters emerged. In the development of the subject, further search for criteria was made through the thousands of references collected in the study referred to above: by a study of such books as Tocqueville's *American Institutions*, Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, samplings of the writings of outstanding reformers, and other sources.

It is believed that the principles treated in Chaps. VII to XV are at least a beginning of a breakdown of the phenomena referred to by Dewey in these terms:

> It is commonplace that every cultural group possesses a set of meanings which are deeply embedded in its customs, occupations, traditions and ways of interpreting its physical environment and group-life, that they form the basic categories of the language-system by which details are interpreted. Hence they are regulative and "normative" of specific beliefs and judgments.[1]

These nine chapters represent a pioneer effort in a new area. Doubtless other principles will emerge. Some of these reported here may be subdivided, and others may be found to be secondary. However this may be, these chapters should give a running start, particularly to the young administrator—a foundation on which he can build in terms of his experience; rejecting, modifying, supplementing.

The criteria may be thought of as falling into the following classifications:

The humanitarian group (the public sense of the humanitarian)

- Democracy and Administrative Discretion (Chap. VII)
- Democracy in the Design of Administrative Procedures (Chap. VIII)
- Justice as a Guide to Administration (Chap. IX)
- Equality of Opportunity as a Guide to Administration (Chap. X)

The prudential group (the public sense of the practical)

- Prudence: Economy, Checks and Balances, Liberty and License (Chap. XI)
- Prudence: Simplicity, Responsibility, Loyalties, Inertia (Chap. XII)

The tempo group (the impacts of changing needs and insights)

- Adaptability (Chap. XIII)
- Flexibility (Chap. XIV)
- Stability (Chap. XV)

From the administrator's point of vantage these are the pertinent questions to safeguard him from bad public reaction and to help him achieve the best the culture expects:

[1] DEWEY, JOHN, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, p. 62, New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1938.

The humanitarian group:

1. When I set any operation into play to achieve an objective, I involve action of human beings: teachers, other staff members, pupils, parents, citizens in general. I require them to change their behavior. I affect their lives.

a. What changes in human lives does the culture look on with approval? What with disapproval?
b. What keys to affecting human lives for the better can I get from the culture?

The prudential group:

2. When I set any operation into play to achieve an objective, I bring into play the everyday experience people have with affairs. They will judge it as they do enterprises in their homes and in their businesses.

a. What are the bases of judgment in these universally familiar enterprises which will likely be brought into play?
b. How can I use ordinary everyday wisdom in doing the job better?

The tempo group:

3. We live in a world of changing needs and changing insights. The schools, as are all the enterprises of men, are being continually bombarded by "requisitions for change." Historically, change has not been such an insistent master as it is today, but our culture has had considerable experience with it.

a. What keys to public reaction to change are there at hand?
b. How can I be as alert to change as the culture permits?

SUMMARY

Unlike the treatments of purposes and their conditioners (Chaps. II–V) and empirical knowledge (Chap. XVI), the treatment of common sense requires an expansion of the subject matter. We have taken common sense for granted as something you are born with or something that you pick up from the culture. No one has attempted to break it down into tangible parts.

These chapters attempt to perform this task, or at least make a beginning at it. They seek to identify the questions that are sooner or later asked by members of a community in appraising a course of action—the criteria that are accepted as axiomatic.

The criteria are classified into three groups: the humanitarian group (the public sense of the humanitarian), the prudential group (the public sense of the practical), and the tempo group (the impacts of changing needs and insights).

Exercises

1. Refer again to the list of books given under C in the Selected Readings following Chap. I. Can you verbalize any system of practical judgment from one or more of them?

2. Differentiate between philosophical judgment, scientific judgment, and "common-sense judgment."

3. By drawing on *Schools for Our Children*, *Public School Finance*, and *Secondary Education as Public Policy* (all of which are listed in the readings below), and utilizing an unabridged dictionary, make a tentative list of definitions and examples of each of the criteria of "common-sense judgment" as you can gather them from the chapter headings and a running inspection of Chaps. VII through XV. Retain this list for reevaluation and reanalysis after the completion of Chap. XVII.

4. List several instances where the general public has displayed a definite crystallized opinion (elections, automobile styles, school matters, etc.). Tentatively name for each instance the principle of "common-sense judgment" (from the list you have made in connection with Exercise 3 above) which you believe was most influential in that decision. Save this list and repeat the exercise after you have read Chaps. VII to XVII.

5. Can you think of any public decision where one or more of these factors was completely disregarded? Was it a wise decision?

6. In Chap. XI of Cubberley's *State School Administration* (see Selected Readings below) he lists on pages 290–294 some "fundamental principles" for state educational organization. Read each one carefully and attempt to fit the "common-sense principle" from your list that best describes Cubberley's principle. This exercise, like 3 and 4 above, will be more meaningful if repeated later.

Selected Readings

CUBBERLEY, E. P.: *State School Administration*, Chap. XI, pp. 270–302, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927.

DEWEY, JOHN: *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, Chaps. IV and XXIV, pp. 60–80, 487–512, New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1938.

MORT, PAUL R.: *Secondary Education as Public Policy*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943.

———: and W. C. REUSSER: *Public School Finance*, Chap. V, pp. 95–113, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941.

Rhode Island Commission on the Legal Structure of Public Education, *Schools for Our Children*, Vol. II, Chaps. II and IX, pp. 19–35, 136–146, Providence, R.I.: Commission on the Legal Structure of Rhode Island Public Education, 1942.

WALLER, GRAHAM: *Social Judgment*, New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1935.

CHAPTER VII

DEMOCRACY AND ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETION

Of the axioms of human behavior treated in this book, none is more ancient in its origin or more deeply rooted in the human organism than that which is the subject of this chapter. For this reason it is particularly difficult to express in words, as many people have discovered in their recent attempts to communicate their ideas on the subject. As applied for our purposes here, it may be defined as equivalent to Kant's dictum: "Thou shalt not consider personality either in thyself or in another as a means only, but also as an end." This is the basic principle from which the second-order principles dealt with in this and the succeeding three chapters are derived.

This basic principle may be restated as follows: Democracy demands that each human being be dealt with by his fellows as a living, growing, potentially flowering organism that has a right to be a participant in decisions that stand to affect him.

From the cave man down, human beings have doubtless resented being imposed upon, being used without their consent. All societies develop ways of dealing with this tendency, which, according to the psychologists, is quite general (for an organism, not ready to act, to be required to act is painful) and as their ally they had the other human tendency "love of being dominated." The simplest solution that seems to have appeared is the domination by a few and the slavery of the many. But more complex solutions were developed. The Hebrews were among those who sought for systems of human relations that would play down the master-slave relationship and play up the urge for self-expression. The ancient Greeks sought to build a system of regard for the individual within the favored or dominant group. Christianity was perhaps the highest expression of this more complex form of human relations. Our own national life is an attempt to apply the principle to the political aspects of living.

In this chapter the internal operational factors, in contrast with the external and the structural aspects of this human urge, are dealt with—the day-to-day task of the administrator in dealing with other human beings: public, school board, teachers and other staff members, parents, and pupils. There is no enterprise that deals more largely

with human relations than the schools, no enterprise, therefore, where the age-old problems of human nature are so relevant.

LIMITATIONS OF STRUCTURAL DEMOCRACY

First let us eliminate one major source of confusion. Because we speak of our manner of government as democratic, many people assume that if they follow the rules set down in law they are meeting the democracy principle. Such persons overlook the fact that any institution must serve the wishes and desires of many human beings. It must achieve its ends; it must be just; it must be prudent; it must be adaptable; it must be flexible; it must be careful to associate authority and responsibility; it must have regard for the weak and underprivileged (equality); it must be stable.

When these demands are met in a way that sacrifices considerable in prudence, stability, adaptability, etc., to the desire to have the people at large have a considerable hand in their destiny, we say the arrangement is democratic. Thus, since the people of England in their local government, in their election of Parliament, and in the influence of Parliament over the ministries have according to established law a rather large say over their destinies, we speak of their government as democratic. When, however, a people, once having the power over their destinies, have surrendered that power to a group to a point from which they cannot recover it short of revolution, we speak of it as autocratic, or authoritarian, or something else that connotes our belief that, even though there may be considerable popular control, the democracy principle is given so little emphasis as to cease to color the whole institution.

But even in an institutional system that we speak of as democratic, there are bound to be nondemocratic arrangements. For example, we place important decisions over our destinies in the hands of the Supreme Court, a small body of men appointed to life tenure. Our constitutions place checks and balances upon legislatures. We can hold up the carrying out of action by popular government through court injunction in which only a relatively small body participates. Coming closer to our own subject, in some states town meetings can pass on the amount of money to be raised for schools but are not allowed to make any decisions with respect to the detailed method of its spending.

The burden of all this is that the system of control of schools, though one of the aspects of government that emphasizes close popular control most, is not, and, human nature being what it is, never can be, solely democratic. For example, a school board may by law be given

the complete and final say over the way school money is to be spent. The superintendent may by law be given the power to be the sole nominator of persons for employment. The superintendent may be given power by board action to work out transportation routes. Always in such arrangements democracy is tempered by other considerations. If the law were to read that everybody concerned is to have a say in the setting up of rules and regulations, the machinery would be so cumbersome as to make it impossible to meet situations requiring quick action—for reasons of justice, for example. Similarly, if the voters in a school district can vote on every item of the budget, the school program runs the risk of being seriously upset. The result might be quite democratic but highly unstable.

LEEWAY FOR DEMOCRATIC OPERATION

In brief, the governmental system under which we operate simply indicates the minimum of democracy with which we are allowed to operate. It leaves the administrator in the system still under the complete play of the "democratic urge." It in no sense puts this law of human nature out of operation. The administrator, therefore, may not with impunity follow merely the letter of the law, at least as a general practice. The law may give him power to determine the destinies of others on his own responsibility, but this should be considered an emergency power. In normal operation all concerned with the rule under which they must live should have some say in its development. Clearly, we might conceivably have very democratic administration under a democratically inclined political autocrat; conversely, we could have, and often do have, rather autocratic administration in a political democracy which follows to the letter, as a matter of general procedure, the emergency powers written into the law.

An interesting and common example is the public hearing required in some states prior to the adoption of a budget. From the democratic standpoint this is a minimum opportunity for the members of the public to be heard on a matter that concerns them. Administered in this spirit, the public would probably be drawn into a series of authentic conferences over a considerable period of time. As it is often administered, no attempt is made to arouse public interest, and the school authorities take a defensive or even truculent attitude toward those who come or encourage large attendance by their friends. The hearing is held because the law has said in effect: If the power over the budget happens to get into the hands of an autocratically inclined group, they must at least have one open hearing before they make their decision. Sometimes the law even requires that notice shall be

published in some specific manner. In making this a part of the structure, the intent was to set the minimum amount of democracy a board could get away with, not to set the pattern for local administration. The law sets the metes and bounds of invasion into what we might speak of as individual liberty, or perhaps more exactly, the limits beyond which those in authority may not go. No legal way has been devised to make administrators democratic in spirit.

Democratic administration begins at this point. In consideration of this principle the administrator must not ask of every decision, "What is my authority?" but rather, "Considering how busy I am and the pressure of other considerations, in what way can I broaden the participation in this decision (mine to make according to law, and mine to be responsible for, however much I consider others) among those who stand to be affected by it?"[1]

Democracy is a hard taskmaster and the tasks it sets are time-consuming. Democracy says that in dealing with a severe disciplinary case the parent is concerned as well as the pupil and the teacher. But it takes time to bring the parent into conference. The school principal may find the time, or like the schoolmaster that Hollywood seems to admire, he may stand on the letter of the law and pile up demerits resulting finally in the pupil's expulsion. If he does he is as democratic as it has seemed prudent to the lawmakers to require him to be, and at the same time as autocratic as the law permits him to be.

SCOPE OF DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

All persons in the community are potentially within the purview of the administrator when the democracy criterion is under consideration. In the formulation of the budget, for example, the public at large is concerned as taxpayers and as public-minded citizens is concerned with education as public policy. To assume that the law that gives the school board and superintendent broad power of decision meets the democracy principle in giving the public the right to vote for the board membership is a denial of the principle. The principle demands broad participation of the public at large in important matters of school policy affecting the budget or the educational program. The

[1] The same line of reasoning applies to all the other principles. The law is a composite institution seeking to serve justice, prudence, adaptability, etc., as well as democracy. While at times it may go too far in terms of one or the other of these criteria in defining specific safeguards, it is still limited to setting metes and bounds for unjust, imprudent, undemocratic, unadaptable, etc., administrators. The good administrator is more just, more prudent, more adaptable, more egalitarian, as well as more democratic than the law specifies; for he brings all these considerations into play in all his decisions according to the best light he has.

principle needs no justification in terms of more willing support that may follow such broader participation. The principle demands such participation whether or not it results in a better program or more willing taxpayers.[1]

This is not to say that considerations of the adequacy of the program are not to be taken into account. It does say that participation should be extended as far as feasible, *all* things (all other principles) being taken into account. Similarly, and from an entirely different angle, parents should be taken into consideration. To invoke the law that the board once elected is a state agent and responsible only to the state as an excuse to avoid parent participation in determining the educational destinies of their children is a subterfuge. There will be times, however, when those other principles that account for the existence of such a law will counsel minimizing parental participation.

All persons in the school are also within the purview of the administrator when democracy is under consideration—teachers, pupils, custodians, and other employees. Toward the employed personnel the moral responsibility is similar to that of any other employing enterprise, and like other enterprises, the school is faced with the necessity of appraising readiness to participate. Usually pupils and maintenance and operational staff are ignored.[2] Many devices have been developed in the last two or three decades for extending teacher participation, in many instances going far beyond most other governmental agencies and private enterprises.

LIMITATIONS ON DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION

Since we are concerned here primarily with a deep human urge rather than with an intellectualized goal, it may be helpful to analyze the psychological aspects. We are seeking to take account of rather than to suppress the general tendency of the organism to find pleasure in action when it is ready to act; and, conversely, that the organism that is not ready to act finds action painful. To regard these facts is to be democratic. To disregard them is to court disaster at the

[1] How much responsibility falls on the school as an agency of popular government to help popular government by being a channel for self-realization for the citizen who does not seem to be aware that participation in government provides him such an opportunity, and by serving as an adult "school of citizenship," as it were, simply by encouraging as many as possible of the citizens to participate, not only in the legally established processes, but in the additional processes discussed here, is touched upon in connection with the three claimed fruits of local self-government treated in Chap. VIII.

[2] If pupils do participate, it may be justified as teaching them to be democratic. But from the angle dealt with here they might well be brought into participation as human beings in their own right.

worst and human inefficiency at the best. From this it seems very likely that the degree to which a person will experience pleasure in the formulation of decisions affecting him will depend on his maturity, mentality, and cultural development. Confused, poorly educated immigrants as workers are less likely to feel an urge to participate in the formulation of policy than well-educated, native workmen. By the same token, highly educated teachers, who know something about the objectives as well as the adequacy of ways and means, will be less content to be denied a voice in the formulation of policy than the monitors who acted as teachers in the old-time Lancastrian school or the teachers so prevalent at the turn of this century, many of whom had little more than a common school education and very little insight into educational policy. To deny a staff of well-trained teachers participation in the formulation of policy is to work directly against human psychology.

Conversely, to set up an administrative plan by which teachers poorly prepared for their tasks are expected to make decisions would seem to be quite as undemocratic. In the former instance we would say that the administration is autocratic. In the latter case we would not have a term ready at hand, but it would seem to be quite as reprehensible. Teachers would be flustered and unhappy; they would ask, "What is the superintendent paid for? Tell us what you want and we will do it." The superintendent would get the reputation of being unable to make up his mind. Of course, the same situation might exist with a staff greatly interested in exercising its ingenuity in other ways and perfectly content to leave the details of administration to those "paid to look after them." College administrators usually face this situation when trying to institute plans of sharing responsibility. Usually there are some professors so engrossed with research or with making a living on the side that they resent being asked to serve on committees. Due regard for their personalities would make it easy for such "unready" persons to avoid participation with their "ready" colleagues.

Much of our so-called autocratic administration of public education is a survival from a time when democratic administration would not have been feasible. The change in the personnel of the school is what put it out of gear. The schools are experiencing only in greater degree the increased ability of employees to participate effectively in the policy formation that has caused such a strain upon old-time practices in industry.

Parenthetically, it should be said that the principle makes demands on teachers in their relation to administrators as well as the reverse. It

is two-edged. Administrative officers are persons also. They, too, have a right to grow, develop, and to be considered. The democracy principle demands that teachers take this into account and do their best to provide a considerate, healthful atmosphere for administrators to develop as persons. Sometimes it seems that the superintendent of schools is the lonesomest person on earth. He is not sure that a friendly act is really a friendly one. He is isolated from the teachers and the public. This need not be so. Where it exists it is an indication of thoughtlessness and a lack of regard for personality on the part of coworkers. The acceptance of this by teachers will go a long way in reducing the necessity for much discussion, useless except for the purpose of self-expression. One administrator who works with a high-grade staff confided in the writer that he had an ambition to have sometime in his career something the way *he* wanted it.

Also, the more capable of participation a staff may be, the more they should realize that the means of democratic expression, like all other institutions, may, with some concessions, be made to perform other work. We shall see later (Chap. XIII) that the adaptability principle demands a great deal in the way of participation—not to make the participant happy but to get better results. Accepting the additional purposes, teachers may be willing to accept the responsibility of participating, to improve—not solely to enjoy themselves. They will then not only point out needs but will, in addition, exercise their ingenuity in devising ways of meeting them. They will not be content merely with the lodging of complaints. Studies of the time elapsing between the recognition of need and the invention of a successful way of meeting that need show that it is typically many years. Accordingly, teachers can hardly expect a busy administrator to stop what he is doing and set himself to the task of discovering a practical way of meeting a newly discovered need. Realizing this, teachers who are playing their part in broadly conceived participation plans will recognize that it calls upon them to do the creative thinking of the inventor, not solely the critical thinking of the analyst.

Discussion here has been in terms of teachers, but it applies likewise to other personnel. If we are correct in assuming that the urge to participate is correlated with intellectual, cultural, and professional levels, we would perhaps expect less participation on the part of janitors and engineers. On the other hand, the tasks with which they deal are simpler tasks, and it is quite likely that many janitors will participate more successfully in the formulation of policy in their own realm than most teachers in theirs. Furthermore, as schools come to give more conscious attention to the growth of children and young

people in citizenship, character, and other social behavior patterns, it becomes increasingly clear that the nonteaching staff are a part of the educational machinery—not just accidental appendages. This is bringing more attention to the selection of these staff members and in some instances is resulting in bringing them into meetings dealing with educational policy.

THE STAFF AS POLICY MAKERS

Even in restricted situations, good teachers can be policy makers. In the early forms of mass education, the class teacher (the monitor) had no part in determining the stints of instruction for which he was responsible. The teacher in charge of the one hundred or so children called his monitors before him, taught them a bit of the multiplication tables, and then sent them back to their own little groups to pass on this instruction. As time went on, the monitor emerged into a teacher. He was given larger stints of subject matter. Still he was rarely expected to know the reason back of his choice. Some wise person higher up developed the course of study, selected the books, set the goals. School organization was invented which made it possible for a teacher to instruct youthful pupils in a single subject only. While there was little hope for one man or woman to know enough to teach a fourteen-year-old all day long, it was still possible to expect one person to know enough to teach a fourteen-year-old 40 minutes a day. Many schools now have teachers who could be trusted with children all day long, but we are still harnessed with the mechanism of departmentalization which tells teachers that their job is to purvey this or that stint of subject matter and that it is somebody else's job to see that these boys and girls grow.

Here is a splendid place for participation of teachers to begin. Those who are more than mere skilled purveyors of subject matter should be encouraged to find out the purpose that the instruction they give serves in the whole scheme of things. They should be encouraged for the moment at least to forget artificial restrictions so that they may propose what could be done without the artificial restrictions. Often such artificial restrictions as Regents examinations and college-entrance requirements, or, in the elementary school, preparation for doing the work of the next grade, prove to be far less restrictive in fact than they seem in theory. Perhaps their greatest harm is in the fact that they stop creative thinking and result in a feeling of frustration.

If a group of teachers can forget such restrictions and create a definite plan built around positive goals, a democratic administrator

will find ways of getting around unwise restrictions. One administrator, awakened to the lacks in the secondary curriculum by the experience of his own children, proposed to a group of the teachers that they go off somewhere in the woods and think through what they would really do if it were not for the restrictions of college entrance. This is a formula which is really being suggested here. It should result in the substitution of positive ideas for experiences of frustration.

Once the goals are understood by teachers, the community in which they work becomes a rich source of subject matter. One of the most significant developments in recent years has been the making over of a community in which children live as material to grow upon. When teachers realize that children grow as individuals "from where they are" and at the same time realize the goals toward which education is striving, it becomes more and more apparent that the routes to be traveled by children must vary. When it is further realized that "where children are now" is in no small degree determined by the incidental learnings from living within their community, the resources of the community itself (human and material) take upon themselves increased importance as educational media for bridging the gap between where the children now are and the goals to be attained in their future life.

The teacher who realizes these facts becomes not a participant in policy formation; he becomes a policy former. There is no school so restricted that there is not vast leeway for policy formation in this supremely important area. When one enters a schoolroom that shows no signs of the community roundabout, that has in it none of those things that small hands have clung to in the efforts of children to understand the environment in which they live, one can be certain that there is a teacher who has not taken full advantage of an opportunity to formulate policy. On the other hand, when one enters a classroom that has a place for flowers, and gadgets, and all sorts of things which children have brought to school with the feeling that "here is a good parking place," one knows that here, in all likelihood, is a teacher who is seeking to find out where the children live now in order that he may spur on the process of growth toward desirable goals. The boy who brings a handful of pussy willows did not bring them without thought. What caused this boy to stop his hockey game on the ice pond down in the old swamp to collect these pussy willows? Here is a cue to present growth. What caused this boy to bring them to the schoolroom? It must have been a feeling that here there would be some appreciation of his present drive for understanding.

When one finds a classroom that has not the order of adult life but the rich and seemingly unorganized order of child life, one has found a schoolroom with cellophane walls; one has found a teacher who is considering the personalities of her charges; one has found a professional worker who is participating in policy formation of a vital sort.

To give children a chance to grow from where they are toward desired goals requires a continued inventiveness on the part of teachers. No state superintendent, no school board, no superintendent, no principal can take from the wise teacher the privilege of observing the process of growth in each of his charges, be they six-year-olds or sixteen-year-olds. No teacher who has the wisdom and the insight to watch and help the growth of children as if they were flowers in a garden will lack a vital channel for the expression of his personality. But this kind of expression requires more than interest in childhood. It requires knowledge of the goals, an understanding of the way Homo sapiens learns, a knowledge of the devices and tricks of the trade, unaccompanied by blind reverence for them.

PUPIL PARTICIPATION IN POLICY FORMATION

Now let us look at the criterion of democracy as applied to pupils. Obviously, as pupils grow older they attain higher intellectual maturity and a higher cultural level. They do not necessarily attain much in the way of professional competence in education. The realm in which their competence is to be considered in the formulation of policy affecting them, while ever-widening, may therefore be considered fairly narrow as compared with the realm of the teacher. To the extent, however, that their competence makes possible participation in the formulation of policy, and to the extent that they can be led to see that in participation there is a responsibility as well as an opportunity—to that degree are we treating them democratically. Here, as elsewhere, therefore, we should set the realm of participation somewhat beyond the bounds of certainty with respect to competence, on the assumption that we will tend to underrate their ability to participate because of their immaturity.

It should be understood that this is not a proposal for training in democracy. Rather it is a discussion of the recognition of pupils as persons involved and worthy of consideration in their own right. The writer believes that the orientation to democracy, in general, and to political democracy, in particular, in Chap. VIII, have important implications for the development of a generation that will find democratic living easier than our generation finds it, but it is not the purpose

of this volume to go into the implications for the educational program either of the democracy principle or of any other principles treated.

FREE VS. ORGANIZED ADMINISTRATION

By far the greatest part of the work of operating a school has to do with the immediate decisions on problems for which there are no formalized, procedural systems, rules, or laws. Practices in this free area tend to fall into certain categories or habits of procedure which are, in effect, equivalent to rules or law. But at least they have the advantage of being subject to change at the will of the administrator. Here responsibility for invoking the principle and applying it judiciously is with the administrator. Here he sets the pattern that marks him as a democratic or undemocratic administrator.

Also, in all probability, the closer the administrator is to the school, the more his work will involve immediate decisions affecting human beings. This makes the classroom teacher in his work with pupils—pupils thought of as human beings with certain rights to consideration as such—the most active administrator. Next comes the school principal.

School systems vary in the degree to which they reduce the work of operating the schools to specific procedural plans and rules. The urge to codify the procedures into more or less inflexible rules or laws springs from a regard for prudential use of time and protection of the individual against the injustices that arise from the exercise of discretion by persons in authority who are thoroughly undemocratic or inept. The probability of the occurrence of such persons bears some relationship to the size of the school system. As a result, in very large systems, rules sometimes exist for the handling of the most unlikely situations most of which can and do occur somewhere when you get enough people dealing with human beings. However, regard for personality cannot be codified. The best that can be done is to set minimum safeguards. After that, good administration achieves democracy; poor administration presumably achieves no less than the minimum established by procedure, rule, or law.

This should give us a clue as to the attitude a democratic administrator should have toward established procedure, rule, or law. He should, of course, be conscious of the considerations, whatever they may be, that entered into the balanced judgment exercised in setting up a rule or law. Thus he becomes equipped to interpret it in individual situations with a degree of discretion that he would not otherwise be justified in exercising. In some cases he will find no penumbra for the exercise of discretion; for example, in a rule that children shall

not be admitted to school until they have achieved a given, clearly defined age.[1] In others, there will be a broad area in which discretion is allowed; for example, "The principal shall be responsible for the effective operation of his school." This latter illustration is a common one. The writer has found every stage of interpretation of its meaning by principals, from the most autocratic assumption of all decisions personally without regard to "my teachers," "my parents," "my pupils," to sentimental democracy, which leads the principal to side-step every responsibility and throw the school into a state bordering on anarchy. Such rules are more typical than the rule-of-fact type illustrated above. They leave the door wide open for discretionary action with respect to all the principles affecting human relations.

What is illustrated here with respect to the principal applies to all administrators. The superintendent may be instructed to prepare a budget to be submitted to the board on a given date. Some superintendents interpret this to mean that they must go off by themselves in secret and prepare the budget document without the benefit of participation by anyone else. Others working under exactly the same rule come to the budget submitting date with an instrument that represents the tentative agreement of staff, parents, interested citizens, and school board members as to what shall be attempted in the year ahead and what funds shall be asked for support. Placing the responsibility on the superintendent was an expression of the prudential principle of responsibility. In both cases the superintendent was, in fact, responsible; in both cases the budget was "his budget" if he liked to call it such. The difference was in the degree that democracy, and as we shall see later, adaptability, prudence, flexibility, justice, etc., are exercised.

In short, a rule set up to protect a single principle should not often (and perhaps should never) be interpreted as repealing all other human laws that are normally operable.

IMPLEMENTING AND SAFEGUARDING DEVICES

To many writers the term "democracy in administration" seems to connote some form of machinery for the expression of teachers'

[1] Even here, in a school system with four elementary schools, age of entrance studies showed four different situations obtaining. One principal interpreted a specific permissive entrance age to justify him in giving parents encouragement to enroll their children at the earliest possible date. At the other extreme one principal gave out the impression that children were not expected until the minimum compulsory age was reached. The other two fell in between. The result was a difference of approximately one year in the average entrance age in the two schools first mentioned.

wishes. In the light of the foregoing discussion, it should be clear that such plans can represent only an infinitesimal part of what needs to be done. They may represent workable machinery by means of which teachers participate in some formulation of procedural systems, rules and regulations. Properly handled, this can take care of a great deal. Actually, however, such formulations cover only a minor part of the day-to-day operation of the school, and even the existence of an excellent teachers' council cannot be thought of as meeting the full measure of demands of the democratic principle even as far as teachers are concerned and usually has little or no bearing on participation of pupils, parents, or public at large. Such plans, formally recognized in the administrative machinery, are probably of greatest value in assuring a *minimum* of democracy in dealing with teachers. They serve, at the least, the function that a public hearing serves at its worst. They are like the bill of rights in the Constitution. Human nature being what it is, it is important to have such minimum safeguards. It is not wise to leave democracy entirely to the good will of those in power. Such organized machinery of expression should therefore be a part of the structure of the school system, and use should be found for it so that it is kept in good order against the time of real need.

One superintendent who is a true believer in democracy is using such an organization to serve the adaptability principle. For example, any individual in the school system can present points for discussion on any phase of the school system. The members then rank them in the order of their interest and take them up in that order. Items that are placed at the bottom of the long list a given number of times are dropped off. The items include matters affecting teacher welfare and items of purely professional interest. The discussions obviate the necessity for having other groups—perhaps of administrators—take time on them. But from the democracy standpoint the important thing is that a group, selected by the staff itself, is available against the time when some such organization may be necessary as a minimum safeguard against an autocratically inclined administration or school board. As a democratic instrument it is at present rather insignificant compared to what is going on in the way of informal democratic administration in the day-to-day work of many schools.

The laws in most states provide some sort of minimum safeguard for public participation—in the election of the board, the requirement of budgetary hearings, etc. But these can no more take care of the demands of the democratic principle for participation of public, parents, and pupils, than can teachers' councils assure adequate con-

sideration of the personalities of teachers. For the parents the Parent-Teacher Association affords a splendid opportunity to enlist parent participation. Too often, however, the subjects of discussion are outside the area in which parents and teachers can agree on action. Instead, the groups work on some minor improvement for the school or spend their time listening to reports on what the authorities have decided to do.

For the public at large there is little opportunity for authentic participation. In this connection a word should be said about the splendid programs of publicity that have developed in many school systems. They are splendid for their purpose, but their purpose is not to obtain authentic participation of the public. Their origin is primarily prudential. They are based on the pretty well-founded assumption that if the public is "kept up on the schools it will not be down on them." To the extent that this is true they are well worth their cost for reasons of prudence and stability. But they should not be thought of as expressions of the democracy principle unless they are associated with some opportunity to talk back. The channel should have a two-way flow. Britton[1] has pointed out how few of our channels to the public meet this test and has indicated useful suggestions for the establishment of two-way channels.

They may be summarized briefly. Groups should have matters taken to them (1) in which they are interested and (2) on which they have some channel (not exclusively) for influencing practice. Thus the interest of Parent-Teacher Associations is likely to be in the intimate aspects of the school on which the school as a unit can act without reference to higher authority. Chambers of commerce, on the other hand, are more likely to be interested in the economic and broad cultural effects of the school program and in the legal and financial barriers to greater achievement. Selected public-minded citizens (including teachers) may be expected to deal with the broad potentialities of education as it has been worked out by the best schools. This group should "scheme" with the board of education for school and community betterment so that the school will not lose its perspective.

SUMMARY

In the discussion presented in this chapter the basic principle of democracy is defined as follows: Democracy demands that each human being be dealt with by his fellows as a living, growing, potentially flowering organism that has a right to be a participant in decisions that

[1] Britton, Ernest R., unpublished manuscript in files of the Metropolitan School Study Council, New York City.

stand to affect him. Subordinate to it are political democracy, justice, and equality, as treated in the chapters that follow.

Legal provisions of democratic government are only more democratic than those of nondemocratic government; they must take into account the other humanitarian principles and also the prudential and tempo principles. As a result, administration that sticks to the letter of the law may be highly autocratic. Democratic administration seeks always to be more democratic than the rule requires.

All persons in the community are potentially within the purview of the administrator when the democracy criterion is under consideration—public, parents, pupils as persons in their own right, and staff.

The democratic basic principle comes into play in the making of every decision from hour to hour and from minute to minute. It comes into play in the free decisions, in the exercise of discretion (or interpretation) of systematic administrative procedures, board rules, and state laws. It is an important consideration in the manner of formulating systematic procedures, rules, and laws, and as a check and balance in the formulation of procedures, rules, and laws that have their origin in basic principles other than that of democracy.

However useful implementing devices may be, they cannot begin to take the place of democratic administration of day-to-day, moment-to-moment administration; their most important function is to guarantee a minimum of democracy under reactionary administration.

Democratic participation connotes more than the right to be told. It connotes in addition the right to influence the decision.

Exercises

1. Note examples of how some definite rule of action has been followed by different school principals or teachers with varying degrees of emphasis on the democratic principle.

2. Show how a teachers' council with a given plan of organization could be dealt with by a school administrator with varying degrees of emphasis on the democratic principle.

3. Give examples from your experience of the treatment of pupils or parents that have stressed the democratic principle as dealt with in this chapter.

4. Show in what way budget hearings can be made more democratic than the law requires.

5. In one of the readings listed below show examples of democracy as treated in this chapter. Do you find any instances where the author confused the democracy guaranteed by the system with the democracy achieved by human action within the system?

6. Can you suggest some devices by use of which the administrator can receive the sincere thoughts and suggestions of the staff, public, and pupils?

7. Elsbree, in his pamphlet, *Pupil Progress in the Elementary School*, states, "Children are excluded from many public schools until they reach age six, at which

time the state specifically grants them the privilege of attending school at public expense. In some respects this is in harmony with the principle implied in age qualification for voting. It has the advantage of being thoroughly democratic, favoring as it does neither the rich nor the poor, the bright nor the dull." Is the word "democratic" used here in the sense in which it is developed in this chapter?

8. In what fields can democratic administration be most widely used? In what fields, because of the other principles involved, must the element of democracy be inhibited?

9. What devices may be used to increase democratic administration?

10. What advantages are there, per se, in democratic administration?

11. What skills, attitudes, knowledge, etc., must be developed in those who would use democratic administration?

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CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

The democracy criterion requires, basically, a consideration of the personality of the individual. The great stress it has had in our governmental experiences since the Revolutionary War tends to emphasize its political aspects—the setting up of a situation in which individuals will have more to say with respect to the restrictions placed around them and the services to be performed for them by government. But the basic criterion is by no means exhausted by this application. It is afforded opportunity to flower in the other associations in which man finds himself—his working relationships, his voluntary social groups. Applied to these latter relationships we think of it as the democratic way of life. Its application to day-to-day school administration appears in Chap. VII. The present chapter deals with its application to two aspects of government: (1) getting the most out of control placed by law close to the people; and (2) exercising the principle in the creation of structure. These two aspects are covered by what will be termed the political principle and its structural corollary.

The political principle is one of long standing. It flows from the nature of the state as an aggregation of people living in a specified territory. Theirs is the control. This principle says, *bring the exercise of control as close as possible to those affected.*

There is a structural corollary of very great importance: the control should be placed *by law* as close to those affected as is feasible.

The devices for getting business done may seem to give vast power to a single individual or board but are only simplified expressions of the complex objective of complete popular control. The final say is never as close to those affected as it would be if democracy were the only consideration. It is therefore the duty of those placed by law in positions of authority to go as far as possible beyond the letter of the law back towards complete popular control.

The problem is twofold: (1) to get the most out of the high degree of political democracy we enjoy in education and to safeguard it from encroachment because of overemphasis of other principles, particularly the prudential ones; and (2) in the planning of formalized administrative procedures within the system to become alert to the use of the

structural corollary of placing the final say as close to those concerned as is feasible. This emphasizes the first. The second is dealt with more fully, along with other principles, in Chap. XVIII.

More than any other phase of government, the structural pattern of educational government today emphasizes political democracy. Theories of structure to the contrary, notwithstanding, the control of education in most states has been, and still is, close to the people. We may say that the educational function is a responsibility of the legislature and, legally, this is true. Actually, however, legislatures are particularly wary of their acts when it comes to dealing with education. They listen to the voice of communities—their creatures, yes, but creatures that had much to do with their own creation. Education has been, historically, and still is, of the people in a way far more intimate than is indicated by the legalism "education is a state function."

DEMANDS OF THE POLITICAL DEMOCRACY CRITERION

While most of the discussion of home rule in literature deals with municipal government,[1] if we wished really to appraise democratic government, we could hardly overlook public education. In such an appraisal it would be necessary to see how well educational government produces the fruits that democratic government is supposed to produce —what it automatically, without anyone's planning, has produced. Such an appraisal would assume that those who operate the educational system were concerned only with the direct purposes of the educational system, that the immediate, "selfish" values to the participants in the process were, in fact, by-products for which the operators of the educational system had no special responsibility.

There is a great deal of soundness in such a position. We would hardly excuse a fire department that allowed houses to burn and then tried to justify its failure by saying, "But see the splendid fruits of the democratic system of control we operate under. See how happy it makes the citizens who talk over with us the problems of fire fighting." If, however, we could have tiptop fire fighters who could also, through some thought, produce more civic happiness than would immediately result from good fire fighting only, we would not be prone to refuse them recognition for this greater measure of service.

The political democracy criterion demands this added measure of

[1] See Studenski, Paul, and Paul R. Mort, *Centralized versus Decentralized Government in Relation to Democracy*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941.

service from the "operators" of governmental activities. It urges that mayors and governors, park commissioners, and school superintendents give thought to the effect of the governmental system on the people themselves. If the operation of the system frees the people from the habit of making decisions, the situation is bad. If it has no effect on the patterns of popular action, good or evil, the situation is good. If it strengthens the ability of the people to cope with public problems, it is giving more than full measure—it is excellent.

The democracy criterion demands more than full measure in three directions:

1. The system of control may be a channel for self-realization of the participants.
2. The system of control may contribute to safeguarding popular government at the more remote levels—state, national.
3. The system of control under home rule may make major contributions to the education of citizens at all levels of popular control—local, state, national.

These three demands have been garnered from the many claims for the most democratic form of popular government—local self-government. They are the three that invoke democracy itself as the criterion.

A Channel for Self-realization

The first claim will be found among those made in the following statements from Borah, Finer, and Odgers, all in fairly recent writings, and from that astute observer of American institutions, Tocqueville:

Local self-government is the great political university where the average person is trained for the civic obligations which all sooner or later must assume if we are to continue a republic. Initiative, a sense of responsibility, political character, a feeling that they are a part of the government, and patriotism are all born of that daily contact with government which local self-government alone can furnish.[1]

The virtue of English local government, as of all local government, resides in its promotion of energetic local freedom. It has already been recognized that local government is desirable not only for the services it renders as government, but just as much for the opportunities it offers to men and women to enjoy an active participation in the government of the commonwealth and, in the process, to develop their creative talents and sensibilities. To these ends freedom, power and status are necessary, and English local authorities have received these in generous measure. The process gives rein to, and generates, enthusiasm and practical energies in thousands of politically con-

[1] Borah, William E., "Borah on Local Self-government," Editorial, *The World's Work*, Vol. 50, p. 128, June, 1925.

scious citizens, and these give their services, usually with incredible devotion, to society without pecuniary reward. The end alone, not any financial reward or public recognition, crowns their work.[1]

The principle of local self-government is dear to every Englishman; for he knows how large a share it has had in developing the national character and in securing to us the liberties which we possess. That principle pervades and underlies our whole history as a nation. Local government is at once the oldest and the youngest branch of our political system. Township, hundred, and shire date back to the days of King Alfred. But we are scarcely yet familiar with the Councils which now govern their modern equivalents, the parish, the district, and the county. Or take the parish meeting as an instance. It is an institution hundreds of years older than either the House of Lords or the House of Commons, although it has only just received in 1894 its full recognition at the hands of Parliament. This parish meeting was the cradle in which our liberties were nursed. It was the school in which our forefathers learned those lessons of self-control, self-help, and self-reliance which have made the English nation what it is. Slowly and gradually they learned them, but by such lessons alone does a nation rise to a true conception of the meaning of liberty and the methods of self-government.[2]

Local assemblies of citizens (discussing the townships of New England) constitute the strength of free nations. Town meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach; they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it. A nation may establish a system of free government, but without the spirit of municipal institutions it cannot have the spirit of liberty.[3]

While democratic forms of government may have as their chief purpose the protection of the rights of the individual as an individual, this argument holds that the very machinery of self-government may become a channel of self-realization. This argument should have a particularly strong appeal to those of us concerned with the educational processes, themselves designed to further self-realization of "all the people." Can a mechanism designed primarily to keep despotism out of the common efforts represented by government, in itself contribute to the ideals of self-realization? It is like discovering that some new tool, designed for "useful" work, without thought for its power to stimulate human response, feels good to the hand of the user, brings light to his eyes, is a joy to use.

[1] FINER, HERMAN, *English Local Government*, p. 7, New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.

[2] ODGERS, WILLIAM BLAKE, *Local Government*, p. 236, London: Macmillan & Company, Ltd., 1899.

[3] TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS DE, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I, p. 61, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1945.

Safeguarding Popular Government

Close popular control as represented by local government is supported also as a means of safeguarding popular government at all levels. Note the following quotations from Morier, Gneist, and Smith, which argue that to safeguard popular control at all levels we must preserve close popular control in some phase of our system.

England in the 18th century deservedly fascinated the attention of all political thinkers as the only European country in the possession of political liberty. In examining the causes of this strange phenomenon, the conclusion arrived at was, that Englishmen were free because they had self-government; and that they had self-government because they had had Parliamentary institutions.[1]

Professor Gneist explains that the reverse of this is the case, that it was because we were free in the old Teutonic, positive, and concrete sense of the word freedom, and not in the abstract, negative sense of the word *liberté* that we were self-governed; and that it was because we were self-governed in our local affairs that a Parliament grew up in which we were able to govern ourselves in regard to our imperial affairs; in a word, that in the received continental doctrinaire view cause and effect had been reversed.[2]

The institutions of local self-government being facts covering, as it may be said, the length and breadth of the land, find less actual allusion in recorded laws than do matters of a more abstract nature whose reiterated assertion was needed to keep before men the recollection of their importance. There will, however, be found to be allusions to these institutions scattered through the ancient and recorded laws sufficient to illustrate and establish the point of their having been always held to be a part of the fundamental institutions of this country, and secured by its fundamental laws.[3]

Local self-government is really far more important for the protection of the rights and liberties of the people than even parliamentary suffrage.[4]

The point of view expressed seems to be that we do not guarantee freedom through popular government, but that we get popular government by cultivating close popular control. It would suggest that the "legal" nonexistence of local government (home rule) as a fundamental unit in popular government is one to look on with distrust as an unhappy structural development of the American system. If the

[1] Morier, R. B. D., "Local Government Considered in its Historical Development in Germany and England, with Special Reference to Recent Legislation on the Subject in Prussia," *Cobden Club Essays*, J. W. Probyn, Editor, London, Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1875, p. 360.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 360—361.

[3] Smith, Joshua Toulmin, *Government by Commissions, Illegal and Pernicious*, pp. 53–54, London: S. Sweet, 1849.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.

position is at all sound it would, in and of itself, justify a "bias" toward local self-government.

A School of Citizenship

Related also to the interests of those concerned with public education is the claim that local self-government in itself is the chief school of citizenship—a claim which, if substantiated, would justify sacrificing considerable in "economy" and charging it up to public education. This position is one that is made much of by many writers. It is one of the claims made by Tocqueville in the reference on page 119. John Stuart Mill stated it succinctly as follows:

I have dwelt in strong language (hardly any language is strong enough to express the strength of my conviction) on the importance of that portion of the operation of free institutions which may be called the public education of the citizens. Now, of this operation, the local administrative institutions are the chief instrument.[1]

Many French writers have deplored the lack of this "school" in the French political system as noted in the following quotations from Avenel and Patouillet:

The usage or the cessation of use of a mental faculty produces a certain change; likewise a very long abstention from public affairs breeds indifference for this type of affairs.[2]

The present complexities of local finances arise from the fact that as the administration of new services was thrust upon the State (or central government) it, in turn, solicited participation of local authorities therein. But, at the same time, the State kept its prerogatives through its financial participation. Hence this entanglement which must be cleared up if we are to bring about a just and healthy reform. But how?[3]

As we see it, we must tie local financial reforms to administrative reforms, the latter moving toward effective decentralization.[4]

Regenerated and revitalized localism would then become the living cell of the nation, of this modern State whose attributions and administrative and financial structure we would be better able to delimit.[5]

[1] Mill, John Stuart, *On Liberty, Representative Government, The Subjection of Women,* (three essays), London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1912, *Representative Government,* p. 365.

[2] Avenel, Georges d', *La Reforme Administrative,* p. 27, Paris: Berger-Levrault, et cie., 1891.

[3] Patouillet, Joseph, "La Crise des Finances Communales et Departmentales," *L'Etat Modern,* Paris, Jan., 1931, p. 11

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 11.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 15.

Borah, deploring the passing of local government, makes the claim along with a stirring claim for local government as a channel for self-realization:

> But its capital offense is that of undermining the confidence and destroying the capacity of the citizen to assume and meet the duties and obligations of citizenship. The right, the authority of the people to manage and control their own affairs of an immediate and local nature, affairs peculiar to the community or the state, is a right beyond all price. There is nothing for which the people can afford to exchange it. It is the only real democratic principle found in our entire structure of government. It means more to the happiness, to the dignity and power of those Lincoln lovingly styled "the common people," than any other right or privilege they are permitted to enjoy. Destroy it and the average citizen becomes the victim of bureaucratic interference—tortured with its persistent leering upon the affairs of his daily life and burdened and exploited by its chronic inefficiency and habitual waste. If there ever was a real struggle for the preservation of the popular voice in politics and governmental affairs, it is involved in this effort to reserve and preserve for the people back home the right to control and administer their local affairs in accordance with local wisdom and local conditions.[1]

Must we, in the books of our locally controlled educational system, enter a contribution to adult education in citizenship on the credit side of the ledger? Is the entry in as large figures as it could be if we were to take thought as to this result as well as to the intramural results?

OUR POLITICAL DEMOCRACY BIAS

These three claims for close popular control: (1) a channel for self-realization of the citizen; (2) a safeguard of popular control on all governmental levels; and (3) the education of the citizen for all levels of popular control, are the weights in the balance that appear to account for our traditional bias in favor of home rule. Accepting them as of some importance, we see that our bias in favor of home rule is the application of the political democracy criterion, so often lost sight of in appraising governmental structure. To achieve clear thinking with respect to educational structure and administrative practices also, we may not fail to bring democracy into the picture, in some such terms, along with the consideration of adequacy, prudence, adaptability, etc.

As one writer expressed it in speaking of the tendency to ignore these considerations in dealing with the problems of centralization and decentralization:

[1] BORAH, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

> We have never had anything approaching a total view of the situation and its problems. We do not know what local government, or local self-government, really means. We have never measured the value or even the extent of its various services to the social order. The value to individuals of the sense of liberty which comes with the feeling of local self-government we have never appraised. Many other of the more or less indirect and intangible values of local government we have ignored, while we have sought to measure, in dollars only, the income and outgo of the system. I submit that if we continue to put our stress upon the purely financial phases of the problem we will have missed most of the point.[1]

It is not our purpose here to seek to appraise local and central governmental forms. Rather, it is our purpose to get clearly in mind what is meant by the basic principle of political democracy so that we may invoke it in a meaningful way.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY AND STRUCTURE—LOCAL

Local self-government is the clearest expression of the structural corollary of political democracy. The demands of other basic principles have caused us to fly from local self-government to state and national government in one aspect after another. Education is in a sense the last bulwark to yield to this pressure. Sometimes the shift to centralized government has been justified in terms of its greater promise for efficiency in terms of other basic principles. Sometimes it has been a flight from known inefficiency to some unknown type of inefficiency. The alternative to the known inefficient plan is painted in its ideal setting.[2] While educational government has not been free from this tendency there is still sufficient home rule to make potentially useful a reasoned approach to the reallocation of powers to central agencies.

In applying this criterion to structure, it seems safe to state that the actual operation of schools and the decisions as to their nature shall be left in the hands of local communities, so long as the results attained are judged in terms of other criteria and are as good or nearly as good as might be expected from central control. The phrase "nearly as good" is introduced to indicate that we are so much interested in keeping control close to the people that we are willing to suffer some sacrifice, if necessary, in general efficiency and that we will never favor central control over local control if, in terms of other criteria, the question of relative efficiency does not arise.

[1] ANDERSON, WILLIAM, in Exploratory Research Conference, p. 31.

[2] Classification of arguments for centralization and decentralization in Studenski and Mort, *op. cit.*

It should be held in mind that there is no legal right to home rule. Where home rule exists, it exists by the sufferance of the legislature. However strong the urge to home rule may have been in our early history, those who framed our government gave no legal place to it.[1]

Town Meeting

The town-meeting type of control, which developed in New England and still persists, is essentially democratic and provides an excellent standard for appraising a local control structure. Here the people can meet and decide matters for themselves. Here is literally government by the people. In it, as ideally portrayed, we see self-realization. Any man with an idea or a grudge may be heard and perhaps followed by his neighbors. In it, as ideally portrayed, we see the development of the understanding that enables the citizen to sense the significance of public debt, civil service, and governmental control on all levels. In it, as ideally portrayed, we have the citizen growing in understanding and usefulness as a citizen by feeding on the very stuff of government.

As a human institution it may often fall short of the ideal. The town meeting itself may be in need of repair in the light of its ideal potentialities. But this need not concern us since it is the town meeting as ideally portrayed that serves as a standard for appraising governmental forms, including the town meeting itself as it actually exists. We may well ask what are the town meetings' possible contributions to democracy, and then seek to find ways of realizing them, not only in other governmental forms but also in town meetings.

Where a board is substituted for a town meeting the law usually provides for public hearings, the formulation of budgets, and reporting to the public. These are substitutes for critical aspects of the town meeting. Where the legal structure does not provide for participation of the interested public in the formulation of policy, there is danger that even local control may become autocratic. An interesting example of this is the township trustee system which has been followed for many years in Indiana. The trustee is elected by the people. He then has practically autocratic powers. Legally, there is an advisory committee which has only advisory powers.

As actually operated, the town meeting may fail, in a larger degree, to contribute in terms of the democracy principle. Recently a New England newspaper deplored the fact that only 35 per cent of the eligible voters had cast ballots in a school board election. This was in a city of 250,000 people. No one seemed to be aware that in the

[1] See Chap. XIX.

financial meetings of the towns of that state the average number of participants is but 12 per cent of the eligible participants and less than 8 per cent of the number eligible to vote for school board members or in state or national elections. If such town meetings are indeed schools of the citizens, there appears to be need for an attendance officer.

How a governmental institution can lose its essence is demonstrated further by the fact that few towns in the above New England state have halls large enough to accommodate as many as 20 per cent of the eligible participants. The argument is given that the very existence of the town meeting makes it possible for a citizen to protest or block action by elected officials. This is purely prudential. As democratic instruments such a system of town meetings is more open to criticism than some of the less "democratic" forms that have taken its place.

Emergence of Fiscal Independence

A consideration of the special nature of education as opposed to aspects of local government has been quite generally taken into account in the setting up of a system of local control over schools. Education deals with futures. Where people meet in the town meeting they have an opportunity to differentiate between the long-time values of education as opposed to the short-time values of many aspects of local government. They may decide to expand their educational programs at a time when a desire for retrenchment may lead them to curtail local government extensively. When all the functions of local government and education are placed in the hands of a single elected body, and when the only real control the public has is in the election of this body, it is exceedingly difficult for the public to differentiate when voting between its desires for education and its desires for other services. This point was evidently considered of great importance at the time when board government was substituted for town-meeting government. As a result, an arrangement was made by which the schools were placed under one board and the municipal government under another. The school board was given power to tax independent of the municipal board. This permitted popular control to retain something inherent in the town-meeting type of control.

Capacity to Participate

In addition to the "right" to participate, democracy connotes "capacity" to participate. As education has become more complex, the strain on popular control has been increased. The one-teacher school meeting, for example, can seldom be democratic, for the partici-

pants rarely understand the significance of their decisions. This fact demands large enough school districts to make possible the employment of alert professional leadership. Alert professional leadership is needed, not to make decisions for the people, but rather to teach them the consequences of these possible decisions and thus to assist them to make intelligent decisions.

In many rural areas the people of the twenties thought that power had been taken from them by the state, whereas, as a matter of fact, the power was not being exercised by anyone. Home rule had not been destroyed by overt legislative acts; it had died for lack of the nourishment of understanding. The understanding of the unaided citizen was not sufficient to cope with the problems. Compared with the school meetings of the 1900's, school meetings were dead affairs.

Some years ago the writer had an experience that well illustrates this need for leadership. On a fishing trip in the Catskills he struck up an acquaintance with the father of two youngsters of elementary-school age—a veteran of the First World War. In a school meeting held a week or so earlier, this man had urged the purchase of a new map of Europe, pointing out that their present map was of prewar Europe. He quoted the teacher as advising, "We don't need no new map of Europe. None of these kids is going to Europe." This man's complaint was that, while the state required certain total expenditures, there was nothing to spend money for but new blackboards and painting the outhouses. Asked why they didn't pay the teacher more, he responded, "She ain't worth no more."

In this case there was plenty of interest and perspicacity. What was lacking was *information* and *understanding* of educational problems.

One wonders whether those operating the thousands of school meetings in rural areas today are as aware as those active 20 years ago that something is radically wrong. What is wrong, it is clear, is that popular control of education that is not enlightened control is a farce. Prudential considerations are gradually hemming it in with state regulations. Only a local structure permitting employment of expert guidance will restore democratic control.

The following section deals with the exercise of such leadership. But what that section has to say is meaningless for those vast areas where the structure itself denies the leadership.

POLITICAL DEMOCRACY AND OPERATION OF SCHOOLS

The structure is important in keeping the door open for democracy. As a matter of fact, it comes pretty close to being a moral law that no

generation has the right to barter away the democratic structure—the machinery of democratic government. But the structure can only ensure the opportunity. The exercise of democracy is dependent upon the hard work of persons; otherwise it lapses into a dormant state. The price of the ability to live democratically is eternal vigilance in molding democratic forms. The price of living democratically is eternal hard work in feeding the democratic spirit. It is easier to live as a slave than as a free man.

The democracy criterion applied to the work of the school administrator may be expressed as follows: *The operation of any function should be such that the participation of the public in forming decisions shall be as great as possible.* Local or state superintendents should set the stage so that their boards of education, state or local, can participate. In turn, boards of education should set the stage so that the general public can participate as fully as possible. The carrying out of this principle places a large amount of responsibility upon the administrative officer.

Diluted Lay Control

If we are guided by the idealized town meeting as a standard, we may find a simplified system of control, such as board control, or for that matter, an actual town meeting, falling short of the desirable objective of wide lay participations in policy formation. What typically happens is that the legal machinery is carried through pretty much as a form. Hearings are not held to encourage people to participate but to meet the requirements of the law. Reports to the public are made not to inform the public but to meet the requirements of the law. Under such circumstances popular control is diluted to the point where it operates almost solely through a sort of veto power. Policies are adopted by the board of education or by the professional staff with or without consulting the board of education. The public eventually finds out about these policies. If it likes them, it is well. If it is only mildly irritated, the policies will be accepted. If groups become greatly irritated, a sort of revolution occurs in which educational leaders may be ousted, the character of the board changed, and the educational program generally upset. The present writer does not believe that this is either democratic procedure or authentic home rule. The actual practice of policy formulation in a community should be such as to go as far as possible beyond the minimum prudential requirements set by the state for the purpose of assuring some degree of public participation.

Policy Formation

Writings on school administration have held consistently that school boards should formulate a policy and the paid staff should execute it. They state or assume that the superintendent shall have a large part in assisting the school board in its formulation of policy so that this becomes a joint enterprise of staff and board. But this is not sufficient to meet the demands of democracy. The formulation of policy may be widely shared with the public. This is not easy. We have been content to report to the public. We have not been very diligent in seeking ways of giving the public channels of expression. Possibly the explanation is that one suggested earlier, the feeling that education has become too complex for the lay mind. By the same token the key that will unlock this door of despond is the realization of the essential simplicity of all educational effort when considered in terms of the two prime objectives.

Many important decisions that are made are unnecessarily cast in such a form that nobody but professional workers can possibly make them. It is the job of the administrator to trace these decisions back to the ultimate basic objectives on which persons who will take the trouble to enlighten themselves can really exercise a valid judgment. For example, the decision as to whether to have a number of special guidance officers in a high school or to leave the guidance function to home-room teachers with the help of a supervisory specialist is one which a layman would find it difficult to make intelligently. But back of this policy is the real objective of serving the needs of children. An analysis of the problem will reveal the kinds of services to be performed and the relative adequacy expected of the two organizations. The layman then becomes qualified to determine whether he wants for his children and his neighbor's children the kind of results the guidance system is planning to give and whether or not he is willing to pay any additional costs that might be involved in the plan which promises to give superior results.

A vast proportion of the decisions made in the formulation of most school budgets are not analyzed to the point where the layman can exercise intelligent judgment. Where such analysis is not made, decisions are essentially autocratic rather than democratic even though they may be justified in terms of other criteria. Ideally, all that we do in education bears upon objectives we have for growth of individual boys and girls—what it does to them as persons and as members of society. When reduced to this level, the judgment of the lay public is quite as valid as that of the professional worker. The professional worker must be depended upon to know the results that may be

expected from a given action, but the decision as to whether or not a given result is desired is one which can be participated in widely. The professional worker's realm is comparable to that of the engineer who can tell what it will cost to build a bridge and on whose decisions, with respect to the stress and strains on various parts of the bridge, action will be taken. But it is not for the engineer to decide whether or not the bridge is to be built. The engineer who keeps in his place has tremendous influence on ways and means, but his decisions flow from objectives in the determination of which he may have had only a minor role.

The Budget as a Focus of Public Participation

Budgetary practice, now really only in its infancy, was originally an attempt to put prudential controls on money management. But few if any devices have as much potential in serving democracy both in the operation of the schools and in their political control. Just as voting at the town meeting crystallized decisions that had been or should have been a long time in process of formulation, so does the budget crystallize what should be a vast range of considerations by the public and the professional group of the educational program as it now exists and as it is to emerge in the near future. Accordingly, it is around the budget-making process that the safeguards set by the state are usually centered. Looked at from this angle the slow process of budget formulation can be the very heart of the procedure of democratic control. Neglected, skimped, reduced to dollar counting, it can easily become a symbol of autocratic control. There is no way to assure that it will be democratic rather than autocratic except by hard work to that end on the part of those responsible for its development.

If practice is to rise to its opportunities in the formulation of the budget, it must first start with a far broader conception of participation on the part of both the professional staff and the public in a consideration of educational policy. This process must be a continuing one. Both the public and the professional staff must rediscover public education and must continually appraise present practices within the community. Where do they start? What are they for? Do they attain their objectives?

As needs for change become apparent in a hundred places, their budgetary implications should be worked out. When it comes time to formulate the budget for the ensuing year, conferences of teachers and of interested laymen should be held to give an opportunity of weighing the advantages of the desired changes against costs. Out of this process a budget should be formed. It seldom if ever will

embrace all the things the community desires, but it will include those provisions for improvement upon which there can be wide agreement. Under such circumstances the adoption of the budget should always be a matter for rejoicing on the part of the school board, the professional staff, and the public at large, because they are able this year to move forward on some plans. It may also be, perhaps, a time of disappointment because they are not able to see their way clear to make other plans they greatly desire to carry out.

There is no way by which this sort of home rule can be achieved simply by passing legislation. This type of home rule is achieved first by the school board and the superintendent in spreading the opportunity for the sharing of thinking in the unfolding educational program in the community. For prudential reasons the responsibility for the decisions should be left in the hands of the school board. There will always be some matters on which they should make the final decisions. These, because of time or other considerations, cannot be made a matter of community planning. But the school board should hold it as an ideal to achieve democratic participation on the part of both the staff and the public to the greatest possible degree. The ideal is suggested in the lines quoted by Lord Bryce in *The American Commonwealth:*

> O it is excellent
> To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous
> To use it like a giant.[1]

Evidence shows clearly that, next to the level on which schools are supported, "what the community expects of its schools" is among the factors that most surely determine the quality of the schools. To be prudent, therefore, the community must understand what education is about and must expect of its schools the best that the schools know how to provide. When the community has an understanding of the critical part public education serves in our society, the community will find itself less puzzled about what it is spending for schools because it will balance over against this commodity of education the returns it may hope to obtain elsewhere in the market place. Improved attitudes as to what to expect from the schools will themselves improve the schools. At the same time, improved understanding of what the schools are giving and can give to the community life will place the consideration of educational expenditures on a more realistic plane. Teachers' salaries, the greatest item of expenditure, will be considered as related to education itself.

[1] Bryce, Lord James, *American Commonwealth,* Vol. II, p. 265, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

Reporting to the Public

Reporting to the public as generally practiced, including annual reports and school publicity, flows more fully from the prudential principle than from the democratic criterion. But it is clear that it would be justified in terms of the democratic criterion alone. There is nothing in the democratic criterion that says decisions must be made in ignorance. Quite the contrary, if we are to carry out the democratic principle effectively, we must continually add to the public's understanding of what schools can do. The deadly annual reports that are all too customary and the closed-door attitude towards informing the public of what is going on in the schools do little to contribute to the democratic operation of school systems. Even if every decision in the schools were made by teachers, or by pupils, the schools would still be failing to meet the political principle that flows from the democracy criterion.

The difficulty with depending upon such reports as the sole means of obtaining public participation, however, is that they in and of themselves provide no comeback for the citizen. Informing the public with respect to what the schools are doing is only half the task. The other half is giving the public an opportunity to discuss and to participate in the discussion of possible future policy changes. Such school publicity should not be thought of solely as a device for acquainting the public with what is going on but also as a device for stimulating the public to take a hand in the shaping of what is going on.

Pressure Groups

The suggestion that the pressure group is a modern substitute for the town meeting has some merit. In spite of it being somewhat far-fetched, this statement suggests a positive, friendly attitude towards these groups. The tendency for us to consider all pressure groups as bad has undoubtedly contributed to a rather deplorable split between the public schools and the public. It is worth while to try to work with these pressure groups. Particularly is it worth while to take the trouble to get back to the constituents in the group. As Rope has shown, the membership of the group is rarely as strong, for or against, as its chosen or self-chosen leaders.[1]

The development of democratic practices in policy formation will forestall the feeling of need for such groups on the one hand and, on the other, will assist those that exist, or come into existence, to serve a positive purpose. They will be a party to the operation of the schools.

[1] Rope, Frederick, *Opinion Conflict and School Support*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941.

STATE STRUCTURE AND OPERATION

Some educational functions are such that they cannot be operated by local school districts without great sacrifice in their primary objectives. In most states the pre-service training of teachers is operated by a central state agency. In some states the offering of certain types of vocational education and of education for handicapped children is made the responsibility of a central agency. Sometimes economy has been made the deciding criterion in placing a function under state operation. Examples are school transportation in North Carolina and the textbook situation in many states. In other instances a function has been placed in central hands because of a long record of local abuse. An excellent example is the all but universal state certification of teachers. Finally, recognition is made of the fact that local control cannot be democratic under certain known circumstances. An example is the operation by the state department of education of schools for sparsely settled areas in Maine, and to a lesser degree, in New Hampshire. The future may show other types of examples when we come to realize more fully the conditions under which local control cannot be either effective or democratic. Examples may be control of an area by a single corporation or family, a degree of homogeneity of population that denies the difference of opinion that democracy feeds upon, and a level of financial support that places the schools on such a primitive level as to render artificial most decisions reached because they are necessarily below a defensible minimum.

However, the transfer of a function from local control does not mean that the democracy principle may be ignored, either in the central structure itself or in its operation.

The following statement from Holcombe, addressed to state government in general, applies to the state department of education and to such central agents as state university boards of trustees:

> The soundness of the original principles of state government, as understood by the Jeffersonian Republicans, has been demonstrated by the experience of more than a century. Popular control of the constitutions and governments of the states is now more firmly established, the distribution of powers is universally more effective, than in the beginning. Both the democratization of the forms of government and the redistribution of powers have made the state governments better instruments for the service of the people. But in most states popular control can be made more complete than it is now, and in all the distribution of powers can be made much more effective.[1]

[1] Holcombe, Arthur N., *State Government in the United States*, p. 632, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931.

The law might well provide for state department budget hearings or, better still, conferences through which, over a period of months, representative members of the public and certainly local school board members could participate in planning the program of the state department. The law might also well provide for an annual hearing or conference with the governor and members of the legislature on the educational plans *including the state department budget* such as is envisioned by the following recommendations of the Commission on the Legal Structure of Rhode Island Public Education:

> Provision should be made for the Governor to call at least one meeting annually before or early in each legislative session to discuss educational policy. This meeting should be planned for the Board of Education and its executive staff, the members of the Committee on Education of both houses of the General Assembly, the presiding officers of the two houses, the Governor, and such other State officers as the Governor may designate.[1]

The principle of democracy as well as that of prudence is illustrated by the recommendation followed in many states of placing delegated legislative powers in the hands of a state board of education rather than in the hands of a single individual as is done in many states at present. The intimacy of educational decisions and their peculiar adaptability to democratic procedures make this sharing of responsibility for educational policy more important than the sharing of responsibility for the formulation of policy as to the size and shape of automobile license plates, for example. Certainly, whatever may be the case, in general, for the single departmental administrator responsible to the governor as is provided in the laws of Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maine, for example, it is open to serious question in its application to education.

On the operational side, those responsible for the administration of central agencies cannot be content with meeting the letter of the law. Here, even in a greater degree than in local agencies, powers are specified in the law. This is necessary if the powers of local agents are to be saved from central encroachment. Such specific assignment of responsibility together with the isolation of the central agent from the public at large breeds autocratic attitudes. Central officers must therefore be particularly alert in devising ways and means of sharing decisions with a larger public. The hearings or conferences referred to above should be prepared for by a stimulation of interest. Every effort should be made to make them a sharing of thought. They

[1] *Schools for Our Children*, Vol. II, p. 17, Report of The Commission on the Legal Structure of Rhode Island Public Education, Feb., 1942.

should be safeguarded against becoming the typical hearing of bored officers taking either a defensive attitude or seeking to put the participants themselves on the defensive.

The Connecticut plan of organizing regional councils of citizens to consider educational problems is a splendid example of an effort by state educational officers to broaden participation in educational planning.

In the years ahead we should watch with the keenest of interest the democratic forms being experimented with outside of education, in other institutions, in business, in cooperatives, and in such developments as the Tennessee Valley Authority. It is claimed that much of our present favored practice had its origin in experimentation in control of religious institutions such as the English parish church and the New England Congregational Church. We do not necessarily as yet have the last word in devices for promoting the democratic principle.

SERVING DEMOCRACY AND GETTING THE JOB DONE

Those who seek to serve the democratic principles must keep in mind the purposes to be served: (1) to give a channel for self-realization of the citizen; (2) to provide a safeguard of popular control; and (3) to educate citizens. Lifeless democratic forms are worse than useless. They waste the time of all concerned and interfere with efficiency. The administrator must continually balance the benefits in these three purposes with the basic purposes of the organization. Sometimes he must forego providing any opportunity for public participation and act according to the letter of the law defining his powers and responsibilities. Seldom if ever can he make the democratic purposes the sole ones. His action must be the result of democratic demands and other controlling principles. He must hold the democratic purposes as ideals to strive for, but he must not forget that the organization for which he is responsible has its own prime objectives for which the attainment of the democratic purposes alone cannot atone should they fail to be reached. He should do his job as democratically as possible, but he must do his job. Clearly the effective administrator is the one who can manage to avoid most bottleneck situations where autocratic action is necessary to achieve the primary objectives.

CONFUSION OF OBJECTIVES

Democratic forms have fruits other than the three listed above. They are defended from the angle of prudence, stability, adaptability,

and flexibility. It is easy, therefore, to center attention on possible by-products and fail to take those steps which achieve actual democratic purposes.

The spirit of democracy can most easily be prostituted by practices based on narrow prudential considerations, since prudence can be served so much more easily than democracy. Asking the advice of many people for the more or less unconscious purpose of protecting oneself against the charge of autocracy may be prudent, but it will hardly achieve the democratic objectives, which come from true participation springing from the honest regard for the personality of others.

An administrator may quite justifiedly promote broad participation in policy formation because he wishes to get the best solution to a problem. He may use other persons as a sort of go-and-no-go gauge. Either his proposal passes in terms of the experiences of others or it does not pass. The experiences may be limited but they will quite likely be different from those of the professional worker. This is the reason that occasionally a beautifully developed plan fails to obtain public approval. It fails to take into account phenomena which are outside the experience of the man who developed the plan. So there is a prudential reason for taking as many issues as possible to the lay public entirely apart from the political democracy reason of having the decisions made by the public. This in itself is a course of action that has often stood the pragmatic test. But its purpose is not democratic, however well it may incidentally serve democratic purposes.

The following statement from Fairlie shows signs of such confusion of objectives:

> Coming from a section where the towns came first, and the state afterwards, and where the local units have always been intensely jealous of any invasion of their sphere of activity, the writer was formerly much impressed by arguments for home rule and which would put as many administrative duties as possible on the towns, and as few as possible on the state. But even if the state should take a still larger part in municipal affairs, there would, with the rapid increase which is taking place in municipal functions, be plenty of administrative work left to be done, so that there would be no danger of the atrophy of the civic virtues from lack of opportunity. Moreover, there is more to be said in favor of centralization in sanitary affairs than in some others. Public health work is directly dependent upon the police power, and this power is vested in the state, and in order that it may be exercised uniformly, and that it may not be interfered with by the local interests, there is good reason why all forms of police administration should be retained by the state. At all events, the writer has of late years been so impressed with the practical benefits of state administration in sanitary affairs, and so little

impressed with theoretical arguments against it, that he would not oppose its extension wherever it promised to give good results.[1]

The confusion lies in the failure to define the objectives of local control. Fairlie leaves the impression that his early support of local control came from his belief that it better achieved the prime objectives of the service. Seeing later what he considered a better means of meeting the prime objectives, he dismisses as theoretical the concomitant objectives such as serving the democratic principle. It would seem to be a fairer appraisal if these "theoretical" objectives were brought into the open and their advantages balanced against immediate improvement in attaining the prime objectives. He might then have come to the conclusion that the advantages in attaining the prime objectives did truly outweigh the loss in the concomitant objectives of the democracy principle. But the writer ventures to suggest that he would not have disposed of them so easily as he does here.

As a final warning it should be said that the very democratic objectives close popular control is supposed to serve are the important things, not the device of close popular control. Perhaps this is what Fairlie really meant. Close popular control is a device and, being a device, may perhaps be superseded to advantage by other devices. A blind faith in a form of control might easily lead us to a place where we would be holding a birdless cage. In reality, the very system of public education is another device for achieving the same three objectives. We need to consider how much we can sacrifice in the program itself to make it serve purposes which perhaps were not well served by any other device in the early years of our history. We must also consider whether alternative forms of control might not be made to contribute as much. The latter is suggested by various protagonists of centralized control. Chevillard's comments on Tocqueville are to the point:

> The fundamental error of M. de Tocqueville in this particular, has been to believe that administrative centralization lessens in men the civic spirit and is harmful to the development of social forces.
>
> Centralization does not obstruct the development of social reforms. It may, in certain cases, retard it but, in turn, what compensation it offers for this slight delay (or inconvenience)![2]

[1] Fairlie, John A., *Local Government in Counties, Towns, and Villages*, p. 247, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1920.

[2] Chevillard, Jules, *Etudes d'Administration: De la Division Administrative de la France et de la Centralisation*, Vol. II, p. 207, Paris: Durand, 1862.

The least we can do is to keep our eyes on the objective and avoid developing an unreasoned attitude of awe toward the devices supposed to serve them. However, this does not mean that the decision can be made in terms of the effectiveness of the device alone. Local control maintained, even though poorly used, is an instrument ready at hand for the use of future, more ardent generations. Central control that forgets the democratic principle leaves no instrument readily at hand to the people themselves. They must depend on the good will of the administrator since centralized structure only gives opportunity for democratic administration; it does not insure it by law. In the lawyer's terminology, an injunction to administer democratically will not lie. Having once relinquished it a people will hardly regain local control short of revolution or the growth of new services of government outside the accepted sphere of centralization. The long, vain struggle of the French regionalists bears testimony to this. The deaf ear of authorities to the cry for local autonomy in the communities of our large cities is another indicator of the difficulty of inserting an opening wedge.

No attempt has been made either to enhance the extremely limited powers of 54 local school boards in New York City in their 40 years of existence or to substitute more effective local agencies. The school boards of the smaller communities in Delaware, shorn of their fiscal powers a quarter of a century ago, have become of decreasing importance in spite of efforts to make use of them. The boards of school trustees within the Alabama county school districts are quite generally allowed to languish or are even entirely ignored. The community school boards in certain provinces of the Union of South Africa, shorn of most of their powers at the turn of the century, have shown no sign of a new infusion of life, and educators, apparently genuinely interested in restoring their powers, have said over and over that they believe the capacity of the people to recapture the art of local educational control has been lost by lack of exercise.

A CRITICAL ASPECT OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

While much of this chapter has dealt with what has to be done operationally to realize the full potential of control placed close to those affected, it would be unfortunate if the reader were to leave this subject without a feeling of the extremely great importance of placing the right to say the final word close to those affected. Lilienthal, in his splendid book on operational democracy never seems to question the situation in which the Washington authority, once the evidence is all

gathered, makes the final decision.[1] He does not raise the issue as to whether the *final* say on certain of the matters under consideration should by law be closer to the people of the Tennessee Valley. He does not raise the issue of the structural corollary of political democracy. He deals rather with how democratically inclined administrators can of their own free will consider the personalities of people affected, even though these administrators are answerable only to a very remote authority. The structural corollary of political democracy would raise the question as to which of these matters for decision can without too much danger (prudential) be left to the people of the Tennessee Valley so that they will not be required to depend upon administrative good will.

The structural corollary derived from the political democracy principle demands that in the setting up of the legal structure for education we leave final say to the local communities insofar as we dare (considering other principles). In addition, it would seem to demand that in the setting up of operational procedures, such as assignment of teachers, determining courses to be offered, and developing plans for sweeping buildings, the final say might well be put closer to the persons affected than the superintendent of schools and board of education. This structural corollary demands that we leave as little democracy as possible to the good will of the relatively remote authority.

Here, in the setting up of operational procedures, is where political democracy comes into play in the day-to-day constructive work of school administrators. The extent to which we must depend upon benevolence for democratic action can stand a great deal of reduction in our school systems, particularly in the larger ones. Yet it has been almost altogether neglected, as will appear from the treatment of operational patterns appearing in Chap. XVIII. In that chapter all principles are brought into play. The reader should note, however, the important part that placing the control as close to those affected takes in the discussion.

SUMMARY

The political democracy principle requires that the exercise of control over policy or action be placed as close to the people as can be done feasibly, all other principles taken into account. It is worth considerable sacrifice in terms of other principles. Its structural corollary requires the placing of final say as close to the persons affected as is

[1] LILIENTHAL, DAVID E., *Democracy on the March*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944 (Pocket Books, 1945).

feasible by legal provision. From the administrator's viewpoint the problem is twofold: (1) to get the most out of the high degree of political democracy we enjoy in education and to safeguard it from encroachment because of overemphasis of other principles, particularly the prudential ones; and (2) in the planning of formalized administrative procedures within the system to become alert to the use of the structural corollary of placing the final say by law as close to those concerned as is feasible.

The strength of the principle seems to lie in the believed outcomes from close popular control of governmental enterprises. There are three such outcomes claimed:

1. The system of control may be a channel for self-realization of the participants.
2. The system of control may contribute to safeguarding popular government at the more remote levels—state, national.
3. The system of control under home rule may make major contributions to the education of citizens at all levels of popular control—local, state, national.

The administrator would seem to have some responsibility for the achievement of these direct products of the system he is required to use as a means to serve the usually recognized educational objectives.

Local self-government is the clearest expression of the structural corollary of the political democracy principle. In education it is found in various degrees of actual popular control from the town meeting to the city board of education. The school board fiscally independent of municipal government is defended as being subject to direct popular control.

Much of the practice of school administration appears to be designed to keep public influence on the schools at a minimum. If the advantages of home rule are to be achieved, school authorities must work at it. The formulation of the budget provides an excellent opportunity for home rule functioning but usually does not become such. Publicity programs need to be broadened so that there is a two-way channel, not only to, but also from, the public.

Both the structural and operational phases of functions that have been centralized in the hands of state authorities will yield to considerable improvement in terms of the political democracy principle.

In its operational aspect political democracy is always suffering from the pressure of time or lack of foresight. It is often lost sight of in consideration of the claims on the machinery of home rule made in terms of other principles. In its structural aspect (the structural corollary) it suffers from lack of exercise in the structural decisions made from day to day, particularly within large local school systems.

Exercises

1. In our early history local school boards not only employed teachers but also had the power to certificate them. At present in most states the power of certification is placed in a central agency. This shift meant a lesser emphasis on political democracy. How do you account for it? Would you change it?

2. Can you give examples of where political democracy has been utilized in the specification of the powers of school principals?

3. What is the difference between a power exercised by a teacher without reviewing power of the school principal and the same power exercised by a teacher with vetoing power by the principal? In the schools with which you are acquainted which of these situations obtains with respect to school marks?

4. Do you know of any powers that are given to school faculties without reference to administrators or the board of education?

5. Do you know of any powers given to students that are not reviewable by the faculty or administration?

6. Review your answer to Exercise 5, Chap. VII. Does it need revision?

7. Why is this principle of major importance in the drafting of state legislation? School board rules and regulations? Administrative procedure patterns that represent school board policy?

8. How does democracy in the administrative setting justify extensive education of public opinion? Consult some of the works listed under B in the Selected Readings for purposes and techniques.

9. Discuss the wisdom of a state law requiring the teaching of American history in view of the principles expressed in this chapter and in Chap. II.

10. Would a failure to comprehend psychological principles and limitations be a serious bar to public participation in educational planning?

11. What are the direct values of "home rule"? What are the indirect values? (In other words, justification per se and justification in terms of other objectives of "home rule".)

12. Give examples of structural devices for guaranteeing a minimum of public control that can be found in:

   a. Local governments generally
   b. Local governments of school districts

13. Why do people abdicate their democratic controls? (Failure to vote, failure to attend hearings, etc.). What can be done about this phenomenon?

14. What safeguards are needed against "tyranny of the majority" (in the interest of justice) in the administrative structure?

15. What criteria might be applied in justifying an invasion or removal of local control?

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CHAPTER IX

JUSTICE

Like political democracy, justice may be considered a special application of the more general principle of regard for the individual. It deals particularly with the avoidance of violations. In *The Republic*,[1] Plato says "injustice creates divisions and hatreds and fighting and justice imparts harmony and friendship." Also, as in the case of political democracy, reference in this book is to a sharply defined application to the problems of school administration.

The need for separate treatment arises from its special position on the scale of regard for the individual. The democracy principle is tied up with the flowering of personality. It is on the positive end of the scale. The justice principle is concerned not so much with stimulating or assisting the individual personality to flower as with protecting it from harm. The courts operate at this extreme. They deal with injustice rather than justice and limit their activities in this realm largely to cases involving breach of contract or personal or financial injury. And even here they work only on appeal. Otherwise judicial justice is blind.

Just administration fills the gap at the point where the courts leave off and the democracy principles take up. But after all, it is the same scale and it is highly improbable that much injustice will creep into a truly democratic administration. However this may be, the principle of justice, thought of as justice rather than as democracy, is a splendid keen-edged tool for every administrator to have at his command.

What is referred to in this book as justice is tied up with the systemization aspects of administration. We have noted that systemization takes the form of standardized procedures, board rules, regulations, and laws. We have noted also that this leaves a great deal to free discretion—all the unsystematized powers—and to discretion in interpreting systematic procedures, rules, and laws. Justice has to do with the protection of the individual from unfair treatment arising from the overrigidity of systems of procedure, rules, or laws on the one hand, and from the arbitrary use of discretion on the other. The for-

[1] Jowett Translation, New York: Dial Press, Inc.

mer arise from inadequate foresight in drafting the procedure, rule, or law, the latter from failure to exercise well-balanced judgment in the exercise of discretion.

Administration thus has to play a rather narrow fairway between arbitrarily exercised discretionary powers and too rigidly applied uniform rules. When the ball falls in one of the roughs it is generally cast out unceremoniously and too often lands in the other rough.

Only in rather extreme matters is the individual protected by the courts. Not all matters that we would like to think of as representing justice are subject to adjudication by the courts. For example, a rule requiring every teacher to spend an hour on the playground may result in absurdities. Some teachers, otherwise quite effective, would be liabilities on the playground. Requirement that they put in the time would be absurd. Other uses for their time should be found. Yet a rigid interpretation of such a rule would lead to an injustice to certain persons that would hardly be accepted for review by a court, even if the individual were disposed to make a case of it. Legally, there is no injustice. Morally, there is. As a matter of fact there is a wide realm in dealing with employees, pupils, and parents where the promotion of justice is a matter of conscientious administration rather than of legal compulsion.

The area in which it is most violated is in the development of systematized administration, through procedures, rules, and laws. During the past half century school administration has been in the process of systematizing its field. Rules and procedures found good in one community are taken over by another without analysis to discover what injustices are involved. Uniformity of procedure has thus become a sort of fetish. We say, "You are treated just like everybody else, so what is there unjust about it?" In short, we tend to say even injustice is just if uniformly applied. And the argument is hard to answer.

The writer ventures to propose that there is no merit whatever to uniformity in and of itself; that uniformity has no sanction either from society or from nature. Uniformity is a device.

SHORTCOMINGS OF ADMINISTRATIVE JUSTICE

Because of the dependence of the individual on administrative authority for "justice against the system," local school systems are bound to suffer in some degree the shortcomings of administrative justice. A comparison of administrative justice and judicial justice within and outside of the state school system should make the point clear. Most states, in order to save the individual expense, to relieve

the court calendars, or to have advantage of expert interpreters, have sought to make the state superintendent a sort of chief justice over cases of an educational nature. Let us now consider the difference in the position of the state superintendent and that of the court in passing on an appeal from the operation of a state department regulation. The commissioner is asked to consider whether the individual case is so important as to upset the operation of a procedure that he believes in to the extent that he himself, as a legislative agent, has promulgated it or has recommended it to a state board that has performed the legislative act. No matter how honest he may be, it would seem difficult for him to put the injustice to one person over against the desirability of maintaining general orderliness through the maintenance of the system. The court, on the other hand, is not personally concerned with the particular orderliness that the rule or system has set up. It seems probable that it would be much more likely to upset the system to assure justice to the individual. In discussing limitations of the power of state officers, Hamilton and Mort, after citing instances of reversal of state administrative officers' judicial rulings, speak to this point as follows:

> It is interesting to note that in the New York, California, and Pennsylvania cases just discussed there were apparently efforts made to subordinate individual rights to the preservation of the symmetry of a set of educational rules. It seems that the courts have no hesitation whatever in ruthlessly cutting through statutes and rules if they are convinced that personal rights are being infringed upon unduly. In such cases the courts are disposed to throw fine distinctions to the winds. In them little or no mention is made of the distinction between educational and legal matters. If they are mentioned, it is apparently only for the purpose of showing that they are being intentionally and deliberately disregarded. Courts have as little regard for inflexibility in education and its rules as it does for inflexibility in rules of law. They are convinced that it is specially within their prerogative and their duty to protect the individual whether the threatened injustice arises in the administration of the educational system or otherwise. If the result of such protection is to disrupt the smooth functioning of the educational system, that is a regrettable fact, but if smooth functioning is to be had at the expense of individual rights, especially if the rights are vital, the former must yield to the latter.[1]

In an infinite number of individual applications of administrative procedure or rule there is the opportunity for more or less injustice to individuals. Of course, the individual has the protection of the

[1] Hamilton, Robert R., and Paul R. Mort, *The Law and Public Education*, p. 68, Chicago: Foundation Press, Inc., 1941.

courts, both state and federal, from the enthusiast who would subordinate the individual to the system, but this is not enough protection. There is a wide range of instances of subordination of the individual to the system that are not sufficiently crass to give rise to court cases. The administration interested in the basic principle of justice rather than in simply getting by within the law, will avoid these instances in the treatment of staff, pupils, and parents.

For justice to operate, the dependence is in the vast majority of cases on the administrator or the board, an individual or body that has a personal interest in the maintenance of the given procedure or rule. One suggestion is that the administrator be aware of his own probable bias and, as a matter of administrative ethics, seek to achieve an objective view of the importance of the system he has had a hand in creating.

One of the interesting court cases had to do with the right of the pupil to have the cost of his tuition paid for by his board of education. This occurred in a Pennsylvania township school district which had established a vocational high school. The pupil and his parents decided that the courses given in a nearby borough school system better fitted his needs. The local school board refused to pay his tuition on the grounds that since they offered high-school education they were not duty bound to pay tuition to another high school. The case was carried to the state superintendent. He supported the contention of the board of the township school system. The case did not stop there, however, but was taken to court. According to the court, regardless of what the state department had to say about the vocational school being a high school, the pupil was not being given adequate treatment. It ruled, therefore, that regardless of the classification made by the state department of education, the pupil was entitled to have his tuition paid to the other school district.

Here is a case of conflict between the needs of the individual and the smooth working of the school system. Most people will agree that the court's treatment of the case was more defensible than the treatment given by the state superintendent of public instruction.

There are vast numbers of such instances that never get to the courts. School administrators concerned with the equitable operation of the schools are alert to such instances and take the position of the court regardless of the disrupting effects upon the smooth working of a preconceived administrative system. It is true that in some instances the administration may not feel justified in taking such liberties with the law as the courts have the power to do. The courts can say that the law means what it ought to mean. Neither the local school

superintendent nor the state superintendent may feel justified in going this far. It would seem, however, that the risk of having the case taken to the courts because they have overstepped in the interests of justice would in the long run be less than the risk of harm done by the denial of justice.

THE CASE FOR UNIFORMITY

But this is only one side of the picture. Unjust as stereotyped, uniform procedures may be, they are often to be preferred to the justice meted out by an administrator with discretionary powers with which he is not competent to deal. The administrator with his coterie of personel pets, his particular, emotionalized hobby to ride; the administrator whose stereotype of a good administrator is one who has the answer before the questioner has come to his question mark; the administrator who enjoys grandstand plays that demonstrate that he is free from the rule of precedents is the type of administrator who is on the negative end of the scale of justice. Those who must work with him will tend to favor the injustices of uniform rules to the type of justice they fear from him. As Adam Smith put it long ago in considering fairness of taxes:

> The certainty of what each individual ought to pay is, in taxation, a matter of so great importance, that a very considerable degree of inequality, it appears, I believe, from the experience of all nations, is not near so great an evil as a very small degree of uncertainty.[1]

This then becomes a case of tossing the ball from one rough across the narrow fairway into the other. Uniform rules, like state laws, assure a minimum of justice from those in whom there is no justice.

Also, there are areas of administration where it appears that few if any administrators can successfully exercise discretion. These may differ with local situations and with particular administrators.

One area usually considered to fall in this category is the assignment of salaries to teachers in accordance with merit. It is quite customary to decide salaries in terms of years of service and amount of training. This is patently unjust, since, while there is some relation between maturity and quality of service and between variation in amounts of training and goodness of service, the relationship is not a close one. The difficulty is in making judgments on individual quality of service that will be accepted as more valid in the eyes of the public or of those of the teachers considering themselves discriminated

[1] SMITH, ADAM, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, p. 778, New York: The Modern Library, 1937.

against. Accordingly, all concerned are pretty well content to accept the inadequate uniform solution in preference to the inadequate individualized solution.

Here again, we are forced back to the conclusion that the essential question of justice positively achieved becomes a question of the administrator. He must be competent, farsighted, and spiritually inclined to justice if he is to keep the ball on the narrow fairway between the rough of uniformity and the rough of arbitrariness.

The following, quoted from Brecht, may prove helpful to administrators seeking to be just in "act, law, or judgment":

> I have tried to show that, despite the great number of questions which are not definitely answerable with scientific means—particularly those regarding the hierarchy of supreme values—it is, nevertheless, possible to isolate a few elements which can be said to be embodied inevitably in any idea of, or demand for, justice. These invariant elements predicate on such matters as that any act, law or judgment, to be just (objectively or subjectively), must be based on a *true* statement of facts and a *true* or valid hierarchy of values (objectively true or subjectively meant to be true); that the accepted hierarchy of values must be *general* in character and not chosen arbitrarily from case to case; that things equal according to this system of values must be *treated as equal;* that individual *freedom* is not encroached upon beyond what conforms to the system of values and never, on pain of punishment, beyond the *necessities of nature.* These elements are not mere reflections of arbitrary definitions, as one might rashly surmise. They can be traced to inescapable factors in our human equipment. I tried to anchor their validity—more carefully than did natural-law theories with their broader postulates—in the exacting severity of the method applied (multi-test theory). These invariant requirements of justice, elementary at first sight, could be shown to have a great practical bearing.[1]

JUSTICE AND STRUCTURAL SETTING

Certain applications of the justice principle to the structural setting in which the schools operate are given below.

Equity in Contract

The principle of equity (justice) plays an important part in the administration of schools because of its importance in the law of contract. Here, as in tort cases, the courts tend to favor the rights of the individual against the convenience of the school system. There are many instances of the courts giving free interpretations of the Constitution or legal provisions harming the work of the schools. These

[1] BRECHT, ARNOLD, "The Impossible in Political and Legal Philosophy," *California Law Review*, Vol. 29, pp. 312–331, Mar. 1941.

cases, however, involve the welfare of the schools as opposed to the desires of the taxpayers in general. When the case comes to the rights of the individuals under the contract and the welfare of the schools, there is a strong tendency for the courts to protect the individuals.

A recent interesting case is to the point. A change in the Indiana tenure law resulted in the loss of tenure by a certain class of teachers in the state. This was taken to the courts as a violation of contract. The state courts ruled that the legislature had the right to change the law, stating that the legislature did not lose the right to legislate by the exercise of that right. When the case was carried to the United States Supreme Court it was not fully accepted for review but the action of the state supreme court was reversed on the principle that because of its wording, the tenure law was in the nature of a contract. Regardless, then, of the desires of the legislature to change its policy, the United States Supreme Court denied it that right because of the sanctity of the principle of contract. Here was the safeguarding of the individual over against what was considered by the state legislature and the state courts as the welfare of the school system.

The Constitutional "Uniformity" Dilemma

The prevalence of the constitutional rule that legislatures shall set up a uniform system of education or of the more general rule concerning uniform applicability of laws put the courts in a dilemma for, as we have noted, uniformity tends to breed inequity. It is interesting that the courts have found ways around this. They have wriggled themselves out of the obvious inequities involved in absolute uniformity by interpreting that such basic regulations simply require uniform treatment of a normal class of communities or of individuals. This common-sense way of meeting a situation that is fraught with inequity has much to commend it to school administration.

Equity in School Support

The justice principle has played an important part in the development of state financial programs. Strayer and Haig, in setting forth what they called "the equalization of educational opportunity and of school support," gave a principle which was an admixture of the basic principle of equality of opportunity and the principle of equity. They said that the states should set up a minimum program below which no locality should be allowed to go and should so arrange the financing of this program that the burden should fall upon the people in all localities equally in accordance with their taxpaying ability. The demand for a minimum program was a demand for equality of oppor-

tunity. The demand that the burden should be equally distributed was an expression of the justice principle.

Equity in Tax Legislation

The principle of equity has played an important part in the formulation of tax laws, particularly with respect to the fairness to different groups of taxpayers and with respect to the assessment of property for tax purposes. It is interesting that the old notion of uniform rates as an expression of equity has largely given way in theory and, to a very large degree in practice, to the introduction of different rates for different groups of taxpayers. In other words, it is not equitable to tax the income of a man making 50,000 dollars a year at the same rate as that applied to the income of a man making 5,000 dollars a year. The principle that a tax should be neither progressive nor regressive in the sum total effects derives from the equity principle. Progressive taxes fall too heavily upon the rich; regressive taxes fall too heavily upon the poor. The task is to get a scale of rates which will fall with equal burden upon both the rich and the poor.

SUMMARY

Justice demands the protection of the individual from rigidity of systems of procedure, rules, or laws on the one hand, and from arbitrariness in the exercise of administrative discretion on the other. Thus defined, it is a corollary to the basic democracy principle of regard for personality.

Administrators, in exercising discretion and in purveying administrative justice, should guard insofar as possible against the temptation to give undue weight to the maintenance of the system. Judicial justice is freer from such bias.

Mistaking uniformity for justice is a common error. The courts have developed interesting subterfuges to avoid literal application of constitutional requirements of uniformity. But there are situations where the injustices of uniformity are more to be desired than the injustices likely to arise from attempts of administrators to exercise discretion. Payment of teachers' salaries according to uniform schedules is an example.

The principle of justice as expressed in the law of contract plays an important part in the educational enterprise. The courts have played an important role in establishing this particular safeguard for the individual. In most matters, however, justice must come from good administration.

The principle of justice plays an important part in tax legislation and in the state aid system.

Exercises

1. Give examples from the day-to-day operation of schools where justice as protection of the individual from the system is exemplified. Consider pupils, teachers, parents, administrators.

2. Give examples from the day-to-day operation of schools where justice as a protection of the individual from misused discretion is exemplified.

3. From the list of phases of school administration you formed in connection with Chap. I, select those categories where the protection of the individual against the system is most likely to be an issue.

4. Of the operational patterns listed in Chap. I, in which is the principle of justice likely to be greatly emphasized? Which exist largely to establish justice?

5. What are the judicial powers of the chief state school officer in your state? Of the local board? Of the superintendent?

6. Name three specific situations where definite clear-cut rules must be laid down to assure justice because of the complexities of the situation.

7. Consult several of the books listed under B in Selected Readings. On the basis of your inquiry there, give definite examples of how the courts have:

   a. Defended the individual against "the system."
   b. Defended "the system" against the individual.

8. At what point do the courts become the guardians of justice in the schools?

9. Consult the rules and regulations of your own school board or state department of education and determine the extent and nature of their concern with the principle of justice. The Green Willow Code or the School Code for the State of New Osceola (Appendices D and E) may be consulted instead.

10. Formulate a statement in reference to taxation for school support in which the principle of justice is embedded. Remember to differentiate in your thinking between justice and uniformity and between justice and equality. Books suggested under C of the Selected Readings may be of value to you here.

11. Explain the statement that "a salary scale is an approximation of justice."

12. How does the justice principle support the idea that broad general powers should not be placed in the hands of remote administrators?

Selected Readings

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SOPER, WAYNE W.: *Legal Limitations on the Rights and Powers of the School Boards with Respect to Taxation*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929.
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CHAPTER X

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Equality of opportunity, like political democracy and justice, is a special manifestation of our society's elevation of the sanctity of the individual dealt with in its general applications in Chap. VII. Whereas the earlier chapters have large bearing on adults, public and staff, this chapter deals mainly with the recipients, actual or potential, of the services of the school. This chapter seeks to narrow the principle of Equality of Opportunity down to its unique meanings so that it can become a sharp-edged administrative tool.

CRITICAL RELATION TO ADEQUACY

At its core the term is associated with the removal of, or compensation for, shortcomings outside the control of the individual that stand to keep him from taking advantage of opportunities that society has come to accept as normative.

Let us first look to the question of adequacy of opportunity. So far as equality is concerned, this is whatever the group accepting the responsibility for equalizing makes generally available—not the best but rather the norm. Thus, in a community, equalizing opportunity is concerned with eliminating barriers to the realization of the educational program its organization presumes for the great mass of children. These barriers may be of various types. The program itself may not be sufficiently flexible to provide each child an educational opportunity that for him is as good as the given educational program is for most children. This may call for more courses. Perhaps the family may not be able to provide clothes, lunch money, or transportation, or may not even be able to dispense with economic returns from the young person's services.

If there is a feeling of responsibility on the part of the state as a unit, the picture as to what is normative in education may be quite different. Here what is usual in the entire state becomes normative and to the barriers listed above will certainly be added the barriers of financial support involving whole school districts. The same argument applies to the nation as a whole. Here the national "usual"

becomes normative, and to achieve it financial barriers will involve entire states.[1]

EQUALITY VS. UNIFORMITY

Care must be taken not to confuse equality in its historical sense in America with the arithmetical concept of sameness or with the legal concept of uniformity. The equality concept holds that no individual should be handicapped in the race of life. In its educational applications it may be interpreted as demanding that no child shall be given an educational training less than that reasonably required to fit him for life as a contributing member of society. An early Pennsylvania leader expressed it when he called upon the legislature to "so vote that the blessings of education shall be carried home to the poorest child of the poorest inhabitant of the meanest hut of our farthest mountains."

Strayer and Haig in the Educational Finance Inquiry expressed it as follows: "States should set up a minimum program below which no locality shall be allowed to go. "[2] There is nothing in the criterion that would deny superior education to some. It is an upward-lifting concept, not a depressing concept.

Confused thinking about equality of opportunity has been one of the causes of the emphasis on uniformity, particularly within local school systems. It is a mistake to take equality of opportunity as meaning the right to submit oneself to a common course of procedure, whether that course of procedure meets one's needs or not. On the contrary, equality of opportunity means the discovery of those who must have special considerations in order that they may not be denied a fair chance in the race of life. This means consideration of home backgrounds which may handicap children and youth; it means considerations of native abilities. Such considerations will demand that two schools in the same community, and even two classrooms in the same school, have different materials to work with. It may mean that

[1] It should be noted here that in connection with so-called equalization programs other considerations than equality do or should come into play. For these other reasons what is normative may be entirely inadequate. Therefore a federal equalization program might seek to make normative the type of education now normative only in the two or three states having the best programs. But it is not "equality" that demands this higher norm. Once the higher norms are accepted, for whatever reason, they involve new problems of equality not only among states and communities but also among pupils in the schools themselves.

[2] STRAYER, GEORGE, and ROBERT M. HAIG, *The Financing of Education in the State of New York*, The Educational Finance Inquiry Commission, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924, p. 173.

for some special community one school must have a smaller teacher-pupil ratio or services of a more costly type. It may mean that some school or some class will demand a teacher with superior abilities along certain lines. It may demand differences in plant, differences in special rooms, differences in health service, differences in supervision. So what equality of opportunity certainly does not mean is uniformity of offering or uniformity of administrative treatment.

PROGRESS TOWARD EQUALITY IN SCHOOL PROGRAM

The earlier notion that all children should have the same curriculum largely controlled the schools in the early part of this century when the psychological discoveries with respect to individual differences were coming to the fore. The discovery of the untenability of the formal discipline theory along with the realization of a wide range of ability gave rise to the movement for varying the opportunities that the doors opened. Equality of opportunity required not only the differentiation of the rate of speed; it required also the adjustment of the highways of education over which children should travel. We are still in a period of adjustment to these discoveries.

Children are taken out of the regular classroom and placed in special classes because of their inability to learn to read. Then, instead of providing them a curriculum fitted to their abilities and needs, a vast proportion of the time is spent in teaching them to read. Equality of opportunity would seem to demand that children who have little promise of ever learning to read well enough to use reading as a tool for learning (as opposed to following simple directions), should not spend their days in learning to master a skill doomed to be useless. We should go about the task of providing them with educational experiences through other mediums than the printed word. Of course this assumes that the purpose of education is not the teaching of reading but that the teaching of reading for most children is to give them a tool by which to get vicarious experience. If this latter interpretation is correct, the waste in a child's life teaching him tools largely useless in getting vicarious experience is a denial of adequate educational opportunity.

Equality of opportunity demands that we recognize the fact that at any given time children of any age group may have a readiness for growth at widely differing points not only in the arithmetic book but in the whole range of life development. Equality of opportunity demands that a child be given the right to grow along those useful lines where he is ready to grow. Forcing him into a preconceived pattern of activity the same for all is to deny him his opportunity.

The problem becomes all the more serious on the secondary level. The challenge of the Civilian Conservation Corps camps made many people realize that what were considered to be vast adjustments in the secondary-school curriculum in the past fifty years have gone but a short way in providing all youth its opportunity. The secondary school and the elementary school too, for that matter, have remained too closely within the walls of the schoolhouse to be able to provide equality of opportunity. It has interpreted educational experience too strictly as learning vicariously. When our secondary schools have provided equality of opportunity, we will find the gap between the present high school and the C.C.C. camps entirely bridged and a much smaller percentage of activity for young men and women will be carried on within the walls of the schoolhouse.

Equality of opportunity demands that we cease taking the stereotypes of education in the past as the purposes of present-day education. In giving each child his opportunity we must cut through the red tape of tradition and realize that it is our task, however it may be done, to prepare each child for his place in the world of work; to develop his mental, physical, and moral stamina; to help him improve his present home life, and to prepare him to establish in time to come a strong contributing family cell to society; to help him learn to use his leisure creatively for himself and for others; to make him an independent and dependable member of society by giving him the requisite skills, appreciations, knowledges, and ideals; and last, but not least, to teach him to think. Anything about our schools which fails to contribute to these ends for any given child or youth is not education for him, however sanctified it may be by tradition.

Equality of opportunity demands that we seek those things which handicap the development of any child or young person along these lines and remove or adjust for the handicaps. We see equality of opportunity acting dramatically in the wonderful schools for the crippled. Less dramatically, but nevertheless insistently, it operates in one or more phases of the development of practically every child or young adult.

RELATION TO FAMILY ECONOMIC STATUS

There are other forces that stand in the way of carrying out the equality principle. Unhappily it is not sufficient to have a school in every community and to overcome certain attitudes by compulsory attendance. Beyond this there are certain economic factors operating today to deny a fair educational opportunity to many children to whom the school doors are theoretically open. Studies of young

adults in the past few years have shown that vast numbers are handicapped by the financial status of their families. It was not so many years ago that most of the youth of America was considered an economic asset. On the farms, and only less so in the cities and villages, children became useful at an early age. The writer remembers middle-aged men and women talking of the prosperity of younger men and women. One of the assets they never failed to mention was boy babies. They would say, "John and Mary have some good help coming on." But the day when children were an economic asset has disappeared for a vast percentage of our population. To provide present expectations in educational opportunity children are an economic drag through childhood and the early adult years. The result is that many have been denied access to doors that to the casual observer appear to be fully open.

The development a few years ago of National Youth Administration aid was a step in a direction of correcting these economic difficulties. It is altogether likely that we will go much farther. As a matter of fact, certain other countries have already gone farther. In the Union of South Africa, for instance, many schools have dormitories where those who are able to pay for their board and room are permitted to pay and where others are given their living free.

The appropriateness of the aid provisions of the youth administration program of the late thirties and early forties in its far-reaching effects on young people of high-school and college age, indicates that here is an area that has been making demands for action in terms of the principle of equality for these many years. It bids fair to have a place in American education comparable to such great moves for equality of opportunity as transportation to centralized schools and the payment of high-school tuition by school districts providing no local high-school opportunities.

EQUALITY AND THOSE FAVORED BY NATURE

In this discussion it will perhaps have been noted that there is no reference to the denial of opportunity to the genius or near genius or to the person endowed with special talents. Logically there is no difficulty in subsuming such neglect under the heading "neglect of equality." But the failure of the public to be concerned over these cases of neglect as they are concerned over those obviously handicapped by lack of native intelligence or physical defects has led to the conclusion that, logic or no logic, the appeal to adequate treatment of these cases must come usually under different, if less emotionalized, principles. People don't seem to get excited over our failure to do

the best we can with those who are favored by Providence. It is submitted therefore that there is a distinct advantage in not trying to stretch the concept of equality to include them. The result seems seldom to get support for adequate treatment of such groups and probably dulls the edge of the "equality tool" for what appears to be its own natural uses. The use of this principle, in brief, should be limited to cases of "tempering the wind to the shorn lamb."

There are other principles demanding that we make the most of the strong and the fleet; the second basic principle of purpose and, to a minor degree, justice. But the appeal is largely an intellectual one, while the appeal to care for the downtrodden is highly emotionalized (Blessed are the meek. Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these—). There have been social systems operating on the theory that the weak and the halt could be neglected if proper attention were given to the strong. Philosophically, one can see certain advantages that would arise from this policy. But the question is really an academic one. In the American tradition the individual is very dear. Destroy this concept of equality of opportunity and you destroy the great American experiment. The cynics may say that it is futile and wasteful. The answer to the cynic may well be that we in America choose to invest a good part of our substance in assuring that the sanctity of individuals may not be invaded. Those who believe in the American way place large store by that which down through the ages has been a luxury.

APPLICATIONS OF STRUCTURE

State laws providing for some means of bringing schools to pupils in all areas, either through local school districts or through state-operated schools; provisions for state universities or for college scholarships; provisions for transporting or housing pupils living in remote areas far from schools; laws requiring a given amount of support or a given number of years or days of schooling; provision of state supervisory agents and provision for state aid to care for a defined minimum of education as in Delaware and North Carolina; or for supplementing local taxes more for the poorer communities than for the abler are all tinctured with the equality principle, however inadequate they may have proved. But all such laws are tied up with other principles. For example, a state equalization law may equalize to a much lower level than is normative and thus, in effect, deny equality to large numbers of pupils. At the same time it may go to great lengths to "equalize" the burden among taxpayers—not as a matter of equality but rather as a matter of justice, and as a matter of prudence it may

deny to some communities complete participation in the fear of freezing inefficient types of organization.

Perhaps the most that should be said here about these structural provisions is that they cannot be judged simply in terms of equality—that no complex structural provision can with impunity be built up on a single principle. But this should not blind us to the possibility that a better balanced judgment would lead to a greater emphasis on the principle of equality in many cases, even at some greater sacrifice to the other principles involved. It should not lead us to credit a given institutional provision as being good as an equality measure simply because it may be just and certainly not because it has the quality of uniformity. The test for equality is to what degree it brings to every child that which the community or state accepts as normative.

CONFUSION IN USE OF TERMS

In the interest of clearer thinking it may be well to point out some of the misuses frequently made of the term equality:

1. It is not synonymous with uniformity. Uniformity is a device that may or may not result in equality.

2. It does not demand the expenditure of the same amount of money on a pupil when he reaches high-school age as is spent on him in the elementary school. It might demand more and it might demand less.

3. It does not demand that the same amount of money be spent on pupils in different schools in the same community. In some cases this may be prudent, but it may or may not result in equality.

4. It has nothing to do with the issues involved in the policy of paying men and women the same salaries; on the contrary it may well be violated by the effects of such a rule.

SUMMARY

Equality of opportunity has to do with the removal of/or compensation for shortcomings outside the control of the individual that stand to keep him from having opportunities that society has come to accept as normative.

Equality of opportunity makes demands on the organization and operation of school systems, individual schools, and classes as well as upon the financial or other environmental handicaps to which individuals may be subject.

Exercises

1. In what phases of school administration has equality of opportunity been a paramount issue throughout our educational history?

2. Give examples from your experience of applications of this principle. In seeking examples be careful not to stretch the principle to cover cases that can be

as well classified under justice, as colloquially used, or under the democratic principle in general. The principle will be far more useful if kept definitive.

3. Examine the School Code for the State of New Osceola, Appendix E, for structural provisions for the equalization of educational opportunity within a state. Note particularly Chaps. V and VII of the code.

4. Could a school for the blind be justified by this principle? Open-air classes? Schools for gifted children? A free lunch program? Would any other humanitarian principles bear in these instances?

5. Can you select any group or type that you believe is suffering from a denial of equal opportunity in our schools? What do you suggest doing about it?

6. Under what circumstances would uniformity militate against equality?

7. Can you give examples from your reading, in connection with either this chapter or the preceding one, of confusion between justice and equality? Can you formulate clean-cut statements of both of these principles so that you have a clear distinction between them?

8. Can you give evidences of legal concern with equality in connection with our school system? (The books suggested under B and C in the Selected Readings of Chap. IX will be of value here.)

9. What are the implications of Butler's couplet: "Justice, though she's painted blind, Is to the weaker side inclined."

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CHAPTER XI

PRUDENCE: ECONOMY, CHECKS AND BALANCES, LIBERTY AND LICENSE

The facets of the culture treated in the immediately preceding chapters spring from the heart; democracy and justice are associated with neighborliness, equality with sympathy for the downtrodden. The facets of the culture dealt with in this and the following chapter spring from the head; they are associated with the more earthy qualities making for practical workaday success. They may be grouped together as prudence, the prudence that lies in Solomon's sage sayings and in Poor Richard's practicalities; the prudence that suggests the countinghouse, the good and faithful servant, the careful husbandman.

Prudence is as old as the race. It grew out of man's experience in overcoming the handicaps of a stubborn environment. Prudence implies the ability to regulate; to calculate; to employ skill and sagacity in the management of practical affairs; to exercise caution and circumspection; to use foresight, that is, give due regard to the future; to employ forethought, that is, give due consideration to contingencies—in substance, the capacity to exercise wisdom as the outgrowth of experience. Here is the principle that makes one accept the judgment of a mature person in preference to that of a child. This is the principle which says, "move slowly, avoid sudden change and variety, rely upon past experience, seek the beaten path."

Prudence so conceived is deep-rooted and altogether good except when it is used as a *prohibitor* rather than as a *selector*, looks too much to the past in a rapidly changing world, or is employed for selfish purposes at the expense of the greater good for society. It is only prudence too exclusively served that develops a jaundiced eye.

Prudence means "curb your heart; use your head." It can be expanded to include using your head with respect to all important considerations, but it is usually thought of as relating to those matters of practical living, such as economy, that come within the purview of the whole public. So restricted, it says, "Handle your educational business in such a way that it will not go contrary to what people expect from their own everyday business experience for, in the words of Adam Smith, 'What is prudence in the conduct of every private

family can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom.' "[1] Thus, while the dictionary definition can be interpreted to mean the exercise of foresight, skill, and sagacity with respect to such matters as needs not now met by the schools and not generally recognized as needs in the public mind, this would not be the usual interpretation. It would be news—just as Franklin's statement that "Honesty is the best policy" (that is, to be honest is to be prudent) was news and continues to be news. It would be news to say "If the public mind in against change, it is good policy to change the public mind."

Accordingly, considerations that are prudential in this narrower and more usual sense are dealt with in this chapter and the chapter immediately following. The broader concept is dealt with in Chap. XVII as Balanced Judgment.

ROOTS IN THE CULTURE

Having its roots in day-to-day living experience, it is not surprising to find literature and history abounding in illustrations of prudence. The story of Joseph in Egypt, the sayings of Solomon, the parables of the faithful servant and the careful husbandman, and the wisdom of Poor Richard are but a few of the host of examples of prudence in human affairs. Likewise, the Constitutional Convention meeting in Philadelphia *behind closed doors,* the abandonment of effort to revise the Articles of Confederation, the perfection of a system of checks and balances, the complex delays in the process of Constitutional amendment, the manner in which territories become states, the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, the building of the Panama Canal, the reluctance to grant immediate independence to the Philippines at the close of the war with Spain, the two-thirds rule in the Democratic party relating to nomination of a presidential candidate, the exchange of our destroyers for defense posts in islands of the Atlantic are, though not wholly, other illustrations of the operation of prudence, all in our national life.

It is the prudence principle that has taught people to put checks even upon themselves. That great English statesman and political observer of American life and institutions, Lord Bryce, said in his *American Commonwealth:*

> Experience has, however, suggested plans for lessening the risks incident to the dominance of one particular set of opinions. One plan is for the people themselves to limit their powers, *i.e.,* to surround their own actions and the actions of their agent with restrictions of time and method which compel

[1] SMITH, ADAM, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* New York: The Modern Library, 1937.

delay. Another is for them so to parcel out functions among many agents that no single one chosen indiscretely, or obeying his mandate overzealously, can do much mischief.[1]

As a further illustration of the operation of the prudence principle, Bryce calls attention to the fact that the men who devised the system of checks and balances were not primarily interested in developing public opinion but rather were fearful of it and were trying to build up breakwaters against it.

One other point should be noted here. More than any other of the criteria under consideration, prudence may become domineering. This is because it carries with it the feeling of strength and security. It appears substantial—something that has stood the test of time. The educator needs to understand, therefore, that prudence, like other criteria, serves positively only when it is kept within the proper bounds.

MANIFESTATIONS OF PRUDENCE

The education of home and fireside, farm and factory, from infancy abounds with the prudential. It is therefore undertaking a rather brave, perhaps foolhardy, task to attempt to seek out even a few of the high points of this "common sense" that plays continually on any enterprise, public or private. Philosophers have conjured with it. Jeremy Bentham in *Principles of Morals and Legislation*[2] gives several pages to a summary of various attempts to account for or explain the phenomenon of public judgment of which prudence takes account: moral sense, common sense, understanding, the rule of right, the fitness of things, the law of nature, law of reason, right reason, natural justice, natural equity, good order, truth, insight of the select. It should be understood clearly, therefore, that the subjects treated in the remainder of this chapter and in Chap. XII are by no manner of means presented as exhaustive. The best that can be said for them is that they are a few facets of a vast segment of the culture that have appealed to the writer as particularly pertinent to school administration. Perhaps the approach will prove useful in helping the reader get a greater perspective on a field in which we are all so intimately immersed as to make it difficult to act other than by habituated stereotypes of "natural or unnatural," "fit or unfit," "right way or wrong way."

[1] Bryce, Lord James, *American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, p. 265, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

[2] Bentham, Jeremy, *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, pp. 17–18, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.

The seven extractions from the sense of the practical identified for treatment may be briefly stated as follows:

1. Considerations growing out of the tendency to look with particular disfavor in governmental matters on the wasteful use of money. This tendency is probably more or less present in all cultures, whatever their governmental forms, and present to an extremely high degree in the American culture. It is probably heightened by democratic forms, a condition that would account for the particularly high degree in which it comes into play in educational matters.
2. Experience has shown that power is a heady drug. Those having it must be made subject to checks and balances.
3. When we speak of freedom we fear license.
4. The American people seem to abhor the complex. We make simplicity a virtue; we accept great sacrifices in terms of both the humanitarian principles and the purpose principles in order to achieve it.
5. Experience has shown that in any complex enterprise responsibility and authority should be closely associated. This has both positive applications (giving authority to those who are charged with responsibility) and negative (arranging means by which those in authority can be held to account).
6. Any group of people living within easy communication distance from one another develop various group loyalties that must be taken into account in the carrying on of an educational program.
7. In any enterprise under the influence of the public, care must be taken to avoid unanticipated changes since the shock of surprise may result in serious negative attitudes. This applies to change of tempo of development of a program from that which the public has been led to expect.

The first three of these are discussed at some length in this chapter. Chapter XII gives extensive treatment to the fourth and fifth and brief developments of the last two.

RETURNS FOR MONEY SPENT

There are two general approaches to the appraisal of economical operations: comparative costs for the same object, and accounting in terms of objectives sought or achieved.

Unit Costs

The former takes the form of unit cost studies.

Administrators should devise increasingly better ways to assure economy in the expenditure of funds and to demonstrate results achieved in relation to cost. The standard accounting classifications were devised largely to facilitate the economy of buying. Without such agreed upon classifications of expenditures, unit cost studies were possible only in terms of objects: brooms, coal, pencils, salaries. By comparing expenditures per pupil in the different categories it becomes possible to find where local practice is out of line with general practice

and to discover the reason for it by more detailed object accounting. However little such studies may show as to the efficient use of money for educational purposes, they have a strong prudential value in keeping administration from getting into a vulnerable position. Certainly, if the cost of supplies is three times as much as in the average community, the local administrator had better know this and have his justification well understood by his colleagues, if he finds it justified, as it may well be. Of course, that is the difficulty with unit cost studies. A good educational program may require three times as much per pupil for supplies as is spent on the average even though the total cost of education per pupil may not be anywhere near as high proportionately. This may be true even though more careful than average buying is being done. This makes it all the more necessary for the administrator to be aware of his divergence from what may superficially be taken as the norm. Again, the cost for administration or for maintenance may not be close to the norm when its proportion to the total cost is taken into account. Each such divergence is not only a clue to possible waste, but it is also a clue to possible attack. Prudentially, such considerations are important.

The administrator should have in mind that these average cost figures are apt to be totally misleading. In some instances they may be entirely out of line with any good practice. For example, if the figures on educational supplies are based on the average of a group of schools half of which are extremely and narrowly textbook schools and the other half schools that make extensive use of practical materials, the average would represent an extremely wasteful figure for the one group of schools and a suicidally pinched expenditure for the others. Perhaps, sooner or later, there will develop categories of service which can be used in making unit cost studies, but that day is not yet.[1]

Most of these cost comparisons are between various classes of current expenditure. Too little attention has been given to the cost of buildings as related to the current cost of the program in which they are to be utilized. There are too many cases where a community has spent so heavily on school buildings as to jeopardize the educational program for decades. Prudentially, the costs of school buildings should not be out of line with the current costs of the schools and should not jeopardize the educational program either now or in the future. This is of such importance that most states have set up prudential legislation limiting the amount of bonded indebtedness which may be incurred for school buildings.

[1] See National Survey of School Finance, *Research Problems in School Finance*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1933.

A rough check for this is to multiply the annual cost per pupil by six.[1] If the application of this rule results in the elimination of institutional monuments for schools, it will be a victory for prudence. Overelaborate school buildings, cheap as they may be in the long run, are a favorite basis for attack on the educational program. Under the circumstances it would seem to be wise to seek to limit our urge to build monuments to the construction of courthouses and post offices. Schoolhouses should be intimate, homey, community workshops.

There has been one type of unit cost in which the concept of categories of service has made some headway. This is current cost per weighted pupil or current cost per weighted classroom unit.[2] A number of studies have been made of groups of schools on different levels of expenditure thus obtained. Their purpose was to describe the schools as fully as possible in terms of the provisions made to achieve recognized objectives. The best known of these studies, *What Education Our Money Buys*,[3] is reported in language designed for lay consumption. Studies such as these are a beginning of systematic appraisal in terms of objectives. Somewhat less objective but nevertheless an important beginning of another sort are the illustrated reports developed in connection with budgets or annual reports prepared by many school systems. They represent a high in the prudential reporting to the public that has flowered during the past two decades.

[1] This is based on Grossnickle's findings that over a 75-year period buildings cost approximately 16 per cent as much as is spent on operation of the program. See GROSSNICKLE, FOSTER E., *Capital Outlay in Relation to a State's Minimum Educational Program*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931.

[2] The cost per weighted classroom unit is a multiple of the cost per weighted pupil. Usually the factor used is 27, although the earlier studies used 29. It is obtained for large school systems (systems with a total population of 5,000 or over) by using as a dividend the current expenditure less expenditure for transportation and less expenditure for tuition of pupils sent to other districts. The sum of attendance in sixth grade and below, and 1.5 times the attendance in seventh grade and above, is used as a divisor. The quotient is the current expenditure per weighted pupil. This amount multiplied by 27 is the current cost per weighted classroom unit. For communities with a population of 5,000 or more, this method is not greatly out of line. For methods of general application, see PAUL R. MORT and W. C. REUSSER, *Public School Finance*, pp. 411–413, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941.

[3] *What Education Our Money Buys*, Report of the New York State Educational Conference Board, Albany, N.Y.: Educational Conference Board, 1943. These studies are reviewed in William S. Vincent, *Emerging Patterns of Public School Practice*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945.

Newspaper publicity on schools, education week, and exhibits would also be placed in this category. The chief purpose of publicity of this kind has been to show the public what it is getting for its money. These public relations programs may have added materially to the grist for the democratic process of education to grind, if the mill, in fact, was functioning. In some instances they may have led to insights making for greater adaptability if and when the channels of influence on the schools were open. Their purpose, however, seems to have been primarily, if not entirely, prudential.

Misconceptions from Business

It should be clear that the question of economy cannot be considered apart from the educational function to be served. This fact is often overlooked in the so-called business aspects of administration. The purchase of materials obviously appears to be a parallel with private enterprise so that persons with experience in private enterprise may easily come to disregard the standards that must be met. In the case of business, purchasing has to be reduced to objectively determined specifications. In education it is not so easy to accomplish this. The business inclined person is therefore in danger of underrating what he considers to be the notions of teachers and of substituting inadequate objective standards for them. By this means he can get the advantage of mass buying.

Such uniformity, however, is to be subjected to the same sort of test as uniformity springing from any other cause. It is poor economy to buy cheaply poor materials that do not satisfactorily serve the purposes sought for. Usually all the advantages of uniformity can be attained if those applying the uniformity regulations for purposes of economy will realize that it is the educational purposes that are to be served in any prudential operation of a school system. This will lead them to realize that the needs of the classroom teacher are paramount.

To say this is not to say that the classroom teacher will always have the right answer as to exactly what specifications will meet her needs. Care must be taken, however, to see that in getting the specifications down to their essential details more is not expended in the time and morale of teachers than the savings justify.

The difficulty involved here is often deeper. It may lie in a false analogy between the educational budget and the business budget. Most superintendents have had experience with board members who came on the board "to introduce business methods," and many have to serve in situations where the business manager is coordinate in authority with the superintendent. Perhaps a word on the difference

between private enterprise and public service would be appropriate in this connection.

It is important to realize that the budget for a public service enterprise is somewhat different from the budget for a profit-making enterprise. The businessman estimates his potential income and sets up services calculated to yield this income. Then the chief object of the business is to realize the budgeted income. Failure or success in this enterprise marks the failure or success of the year's business. All efforts are bent to this purpose. In a service enterprise, on the other hand, the income is reasonably assured, and attention is centered mainly on the service. Collection of the income is largely a routine task. Budget balancing is a matter of careful planning, not of the financial balance sheet.

The educational budget is like the family's budget item for betterment. So much is set aside for this purpose. Its success depends upon the nature of the items purchased, not simply in the collection of sufficient sums to finance the budget. The business success is in collecting more income than outgo in the margin of profit.

Other Types of Accounting

The point that the purpose to be served is important in all financial appraisals applies also from the prudential standpoint to the desirability of making clear the purposes for various dispositions of personnel, particularly when the positions are clearly different from those that existed when the general public went to school.

Prudence demands that the personnel employed shall be persons who understand the cultural background of the people served in order that they may carry on their work from day to day with full regard for the prejudices and predilections of the public.

The prudential criterion demands that changes in the allocation of personnel, that is, the employment of new types of service, shall be made only after adequate discussion with the interested public.

There is probably no public service which is understood in its superficial aspects better than public education. The public can readily sense the existence of small classes or the existence of teachers assigned to jobs for which there were no teachers when they went to school. It is far easier to introduce special services in jails or even in the city hall for the reason that the public at large has not spent a number of years either in jail or in the city hall. Prudence demands that these predilections be taken into account, not that they be the controlling elements.

In general, we have made much greater headway in counting the

dollars than in counting the results associated with them. Most school boards recognize the need for spending money just to keep track of the dollars spent, even though it is a comparatively rare thing to find the results attained associated with the results achieved by the enterprise. There is probably a need for a somewhat parallel development of systematic procedures in accounting for results in the following categories at least:

1. The degree to which the schools are reaching all children of school age
2. Ages of entrance and leaving
3. Age-grade placement, progress and promotions
4. The degree to which all pupils are taking advantage of the type of curriculum opportunities assumed to be available
5. Extent of high-quality medical examinations and the success of efforts to follow them up
6. Interim checks on progress for age level in skills and knowledges that can be satisfactorily tested, together with systematic estimates where standardized instruments are not available or have too narrow a range
7. Adequacy of the educational program as appraised through follow-up of those who have left school or gone on to higher institutions

CHECKS AND BALANCES

It is not prudent to accept or expect others to accept responsibility over financial matters without customary prudential safeguards. Closely associated with the foregoing are the prudential checks placed on persons having the responsibility for the expenditure of money. Included among them are the following:

1. Bonding of depositories and of individuals handling money.
2. Designation of two (sometimes three) persons authorized to sign checks or contracts.
3. Requiring that all intramural funds be accounted for to the financial office and that all payments be made in a manner comparable to that of public funds.
4. Letting contracts for goods and services on the basis of bids.

Results of Failure to Exercise Prudence

Every year administrators come to disaster because they have accepted responsibility over the handling of funds, the contracting for goods or services, or the expenditure of funds without the customary prudential safeguards. Administrators should realize that these are not only safeguards of the public against them, but that they are quite as much safeguards of the individual against the possibility of unjust charges of dishonesty, arbitrariness, or favoritism. Administrators should avoid accepting "implicit trust" as they would the plague. Young administrators particularly seem to be vulnerable to the compliment of implicit trust. They are proud that the board gives them the

power to do this or that. They should rather question the good judgment of a board that would place an employee in such a vulnerable position.

Application to Discretionary Powers

To a somewhat lesser degree this principle applies to the problem of assigning discretionary power to administrators. In the chapters on democracy, adaptability, and flexibility particularly, much is made of the desirability of placing ultimate decisions as close as possible to the people affected by them and of the desirability of avoiding hard and fast rules and procedures. It is pointed out, however, that there are some matters in which discretionary power by persons closely associated with those affected is difficult if not impossible to administer to the general satisfaction. An example given was the determination of salaries of teachers by the merit system. Another example was the age at which children should be admitted to school. Beyond these general experience is not so uniform in its teaching. As a result, in every field of service the board and the superintendent have to face the problem of determining which ultimate powers can likely be handled satisfactorily within the schools, which by the superintendent's office or some intermediary office such as that of a district superintendent, and which by board action, either through the setting of hard and fast rules or the opening of a channel for appeal. Some boards side-step the situation by developing a series of hard and fast rules of a very detailed nature; others meet it by putting in their rules a provision making every decision appealable to the superintendent or the board itself. Viewed in terms of the other principles, such solutions appear to be overprudent and, as such, conflict with the operation of democracy, flexibility, justice, equality, and adaptability. This is a fault pretty generally obtaining in school policy. Playing safe has led to what in the broadest sense is a violation of prudence.

Most boards need to give careful consideration to the allocation of powers by which the school system operates, considering prudence and all the other principles on which the allocation of power has a critical bearing.

LIBERTY AND LICENSE

Another prudential consideration that enters into the picture when it comes to the allocation of power among those responsible for the operation of a school system is the safeguarding of liberty by denying its exercise at those points where it is likely to be misused.

Significant as it is, it is very easily abused. In large organizations

the board or superintendent may feel responsible for all untoward things that may happen. There is danger that they will spend all their time building up safeguards against the misuse of authority or putting the fear of the Lord into administrators who have "accidents" in the use of discretion. It is difficult under such circumstances for the organization to keep from suffering an overwhelming lag. That is the reason for the proposal made in a later chapter (Chap. XVIII) for some sort of responsible local agency to be set up in the immediate school communities. Even in such instances care would be required to build up in the public mind a regard for the right of these local agencies to make mistakes; a refusal to hold the central board immediately responsible.

Safeguards against Unwise Use of Discretion

However, there is a positive principle involved. It can be well illustrated in the field of state prudential control over local school systems. It is easier to see here because in practice state law, apart from the rather limited enabling passages, is almost altogether prudential; much of it, wise and unwise, arising from attempts to safeguard against the unwise use of discretion. In the realm of state-local relationships the principle has two applications: First, only those powers which the district is equipped to exercise as effectively as a central agency, or nearly so, should be allocated to it. The allocation of powers to local school districts is a matter of great concern because of the present status of school-district organization in most of our states. Population characteristics and leadership in the smaller districts do not furnish adequate assurance of a wise exercise of powers in making decisions on educational matters. There is also some indication that this may hold, perhaps to a lesser degree, in the very large cities, particularly those which are fiscally dependent upon municipal authorities. The allocation of powers to local districts becomes, then, a question of recognizing adequate and inadequate districts. This is often overlooked in the enactment of restrictive legislation applicable to all districts because of demonstrated weaknesses of a few.

Second, in deciding whether or not certain powers shall be allocated to local districts, it is highly important to take into account the relative effectiveness of local and central control. A source of error in judgment frequently arises from the assumption that any power exercised by the state office will be exercised wisely. This is not necessarily a valid assumption; in fact it often is not. We are justified, therefore, in granting freedoms to localities which they are not prepared to exercise effectively but for which there is no hope from central control. We

need to be on guard against the tendency to compare the worst-known of present practices with the best-hoped-for practices to be substituted.[1]

In applying this principle, consciously or unconsciously, the states have built up a growing mass of mandatory legislation[2] specifying what school districts shall or shall not do and have shifted a great many powers formerly exercised by school boards to a central agency, usually the state department of education. In the latter category the certification of teachers most frequently occurs. In the much more extensive mandatory category are included minimum requirements for the training of teachers, state-adopted textbooks, requirements that certain subjects or subject matter be offered in the schools, etc. Most of these matters of state regulation had at one time been left to the discretion of the individual school districts. Either failure to provide adequate services or instances of crass abuse of the discretion has resulted in much of such regulatory legislation. Prudence has dictated the limitation of powers in these areas, although not always wisely. Sometimes all the school districts in the state have been placed under restrictions because of particularly crass abuses in a few districts.

Often the reason for the failure of local discretion to give satisfactory results may be found in the conflict of personal interests and public interests of the citizens. This is doubtless what has accounted for the removal of discretion from the hands of local communities with respect to minimum standards for teachers. Experience showed that local school districts could not exercise discretion wisely. Regulations established by state departments of education and by various certification agencies have much the same origin.

Danger to the Competent

In extending such regulation there is always the danger that the communities capable of exercising discretion will be unduly hampered by the prudential requirements that were really established for communities that have shown themselves incapable of using freedom wisely. So long as the requirements are kept at a minimum and so long as they do not become so formal as to restrict communities wishing to do a better job in the area, they are not particularly harm-

[1] On this last point compare Studenski and Mort, *Centralized versus Decentralized Government in Relation to Democracy*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941.

[2] Flanders, Jesse K., *Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925.

ful. When, however, the requirements become so detailed that their purpose is lost sight of, such regulations may actually hamper the schools in meeting the demands of the adaptability and flexibility principles. Examples of such restrictive requirements are the minimum mandates stating the number of minutes a day devoted to a given subject, or the requirement that high-school subjects shall be offered in so many periods of a given length each week. Such requirements carry prudence beyond its fair field of operation.

Much the same conditions operate within a local school system. Many of the rules and regulations established in city school systems arise from the commendable purpose of keeping teachers from exercising freedom in a harmful fashion. They are subject, however, to the same dangers as state regulation. The very fact that city school administration, as we know it today, grew up in a period of chaotic educational practices has probably resulted in a great deal of overemphasis on prudence in present practice. In the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the early part of this century, teachers were not well trained, supervision was by laymen, and there was need for some order to be brought into the picture of local practices. This was the task of the school superintendent and supervisor. Their first big job was thus a prudential one, and many of the practices of administration and supervision, therefore, grew up to serve the prudential principle.

During the past three or four decades there has been a tremendous increase in the ability of individual teachers. Teachers today can doubtless use freedom to a vastly greater degree than they could at the turn of the century. School systems that have failed to recognize this fact are still bound down by the prudential patterns established in another era. The larger the school system, the more is this likely to be true. For this reason the whole administrative procedure of city school systems should be subjected to periodic review to see to what degree it unduly restricts freedom.

Of course the same may be said of state mandatory law and state department regulation as they affect the entire state.

SUMMARY

Prudence is as old as the race. It grew out of man's experience in overcoming the handicaps of a stubborn environment. Prudence implies the ability to regulate; to calculate; to employ skill and sagacity in the management of practical affairs; to exercise caution and circumspection; to use foresight, that is, give due regard to the future; to employ forethought, that is, give due consideration to contingencies

—in substance, the capacity to exercise wisdom as the outgrowth of experience.

We look with particular disfavor in governmental matters on wasteful use of money. Unit cost accounting grows out of this principle. At the best these unit cost studies are rather inadequate largely because of the difficulty of getting truly comparable categories of expenditures. Difficulty arises also from the tendency to consider the object of expenditure apart from its educational use. Changes in personnel, particularly the addition of personnel, are likely to be subject to public scrutiny because of the familiarity of members of the public with what personnel was used in the schools they attended. Devices for demonstrating results achieved include various types of accounting for showing the scope and quality of service.

It is not prudent to accept or to expect others to accept responsibility over financial matters without the customary checks and balances. These safeguards include bonding of persons and depositors handling money, and designation of at least two persons to sign checks.

The same principle applies to assigning discretionary power to administrators, but attempts to set up checks and balances frequently result in hampering good administration. Here, particularly, care must be taken to balance prudence with other principles.

Liberty should be granted at those points where experience shows that it is not likely to be frequently abused. This demands differential treatment of individuals within local school systems and among school districts within a state. Failure to differentiate may result in hampering the competent individual or community.

Exercises

1. Which of the prudential principles dealt with in this chapter has a particularly strong bearing on structural and operational patterns, which on the use of discretion, and which on both?

2. Of the various structural and operational phases of administration outlined in Chap. I, which have as a chief purpose the serving of one or the other of these principles?

3. Which of these principles underlies the policy of diluting political democracy through the shifting of the power to certify teachers from local to central officials?

4. Why do the structural plans for many school districts require a vote of the electorate on the amount of the budget? Do you see any signs that this may interfere with the achievement of the purposes for which schools are operated?

5. What provisions are to be found in the School Code for the State of New Osceola (Appendix E) to serve each of these principles? In your judgment would any of them interfere with the achievement of the purposes for which the schools are established?

6. What provisions are to be found in the administrative code of Green Willows, New York (Appendix D) to serve each of these principles? In your

judgment would any of them interfere with the humanitarian principles or with the purposes for which the schools are operated?

7. What figures in American public life seemed highly conscious of these principles?

8. Can you give examples of educational policies that appear to be motivated by humanitarian principles, but may spring from prudential considerations (*e.g.* budget-hearings, publicity policies, rules for age of admission to kindergarten)?

9. May prudential considerations be a factor for quickening the tempo of change as well as inhibiting it? In other words, can you see dynamic as well as static aspects of prudence?

10. The idea of prudence suggests the need to prepare a defense for our acts before acting. Can you describe an actual or hypothetical administrative crisis that might have been avoided or eased if the administrator had placed himself in a defendable position before acting?. What devices can you suggest for prudential provision of this nature?

11. Give an example of the idea that economy isn't just reducing costs, but balancing costs against what you get for your money.

12. The prudential idea postulates that any check, such as auditing or budgeting, should be a real check, not mere complexity that lulls people into false security. Can you give examples of such undesirable practice from your reading or experience?

13. From the point of view of the "liberty and license" phase of the prudential concept, what do you think of Briggs' remark that, "when in doubt as to the limits of his (the principal's) authority he should assume that he has it"?

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CHAPTER XII

PRUDENCE CONTINUED: SIMPLICITY, RESPONSIBILITY, LOYALTIES, INERTIA

This chapter is a continuation of the discussion of prudence begun in Chap. XI. The introduction to Chap. XI is therefore equally applicable to the discussion that follows.

SIMPLICITY

Prudence demands consideration of what seems to be a national trait—the belief that all important problems have simple solutions. There have been many examples of rather tragic operation of this trait. For example, during the spring of 1944 a successful national campaign was carried on against the national income tax then in effect. There seemed to be very little discussion of the merits of the objection. The appeal was made through news articles, editorials, radio comments, and cartoons against what was charged to be the overwhelming complexity of the plan. As a result, many millions had the basis of their tax computation changed with what appeared to be a considerable lessening of just operation and a great deal of loss in revenue for the sake of what was called simplicity.

There seem to be two sound rules to follow in dealing with situations such as this:

1. Study to present the innovation in meaningful terms.
2. Make an innovation in practice as simple as it can be made and still do a minimum of violence to the basic principles involved.

Meaningful Presentation

Perhaps the former is the more defensible rule. In presenting plans for a new bridge, little is made of the intricate formulas by which the engineers arrived at their decisions with respect to the size of the cables and girders and the quality of the steel. The emphasis is on where the bridge is to be located, what people it will serve. Has there ever been a case where plans for a bridge have been rejected because of the complex mathematics and metallurgy involved? Many innovations in education of little importance have been sold under fancy names. In most cases would they not have been sold as successfully

and with, on the whole, less danger if their similarities to the old had been emphasized? In other words, it is suggested that appeal to simplicity is basically an oratorical device and can be used *for* an innovation rather than *against* it. Note for example how the junior college simplifies the problem of providing college education; how vocational education simplifies the task of preparing for work; how utilizing community resources simplifies the task of providing realistic teaching situations.

Striving for Basic Understanding

A more pervading application is in making what the school is doing understood basically. Changes in the past few decades have been so many and the educational program so complex that the public is being continually shocked by the contrast between what the schools do and their own ideas of what the schools should be doing. At the best this makes for general irritation and at the worst may result in a drive for "simpler" schools.

For example, there has recently been a great deal of discussion on the part of parent groups in one of our large cities with respect to what they call the size of the register. In recent years, particularly in the high school, we have developed a high degree of specialization of service. The classroom teacher has been relieved of certain guidance functions and these have been assigned to special officers. As a result, even where the ratio of the number of pupils to the number of teachers has remained constant, actual class size has increased. If the public sees only class size and does not understand fully that an alternative means of reaching individual children has been set up under special guidance officers, the result may be blind attacks. Obviously, when such steps are taken the public should be fully informed with respect to the issues involved and the consequences in terms of those superficial aspects upon which they will center their attention if they are not quick in obtaining a fuller understanding.

The same may be said for the handling of pupils. Throughout our history it has been customary for a rather large percentage of children to repeat a grade. In the better schools during the past three decades there has been a steady decrease and, in some cases, the entire elimination of repetition. In most instances this has come about as a result of better teaching and a more careful consideration of individual needs. If the public at large does not understand this, they easily accept the point of view that there has been a lowering of standards and the passing of children who are not "ready for the next grade." This is particularly noticeable at the end of the first grade and at the end of

the upper grades of the elementary school. Twenty years ago it was not unusual to find 50 per cent of the children at the end of the first grade required to repeat. Looked at in terms of present-day understandings, these practices seem little less than criminal. Yet there was one specific requirement the public understood: for a child to go from the first grade to the second grade he had to know how to read. We now know that it is a rare case when a child will not learn to read just as quickly by being allowed to go on as by repeating the grade, and that the old notion of a certain degree of facility in reading as a prerequisite to the second grade was ill-founded. No matter how well we know this, it will not save us from the wrath of the public if they are allowed to go on with the reading measuring stick in their minds. Applying it to their own children and to the children of their neighbors, they find, to their own complete satisfaction, that the schools have become soft and inefficient.

Similarly, there was a long-established notion that children should master the subjects of the elementary school before being allowed to proceed to the high school. It resulted in drills, cramming, extended examinations, and failures. As we have come to know more about the growth of individuals, we place less stress upon such interim indexes of growth in achievement. We realize that it is of great importance for children to be working with children of their own age and that no specific achievement in any subject, except perhaps in reading, is essential for high-school work. As a result we have eliminated these ancient practices. But where these ancient practices are still in the minds of the public as measuring instruments, a violation of them without first paving the way by taking the public into our confidence is a crass violation of the prudence principle.

No Change without Notice

This principle applies similarly to the curriculum. Changes in the curriculum should not be made without warning. Here again the public has certain external standards by which they judge the adequacy of a school. If third-grade children customarily learn to spell "daguerreotype," you can be assured that every third grader will be asked to spell the word some time during his third year. If he has not learned it during the year, the school will be marked down as a failure. The prudence criterion does not dictate that we teach the spelling of daguerreotype in the third grade. It does dictate, however, that when we drop daguerreotype from the words to be learned in the third grade, the interested public should be a party to it and, if possible, should be given as a substitute some easy standards of judgment.

This becomes particularly important in the social studies. Here the standards of judgment are apt to be the very things we seek to eliminate from the curriculum. Those things to which we give such emphasis as, for example, the dates of battles or the location of cities, when set in the minds of the adult population, are true marks of the educated person. Certainly much of the hue and cry over some of the newer social studies material comes from the failure to take the public into our confidence in what we are trying to do.

Avoidance of Professional Terminology

Similarly, prudence dictates that educational objectives be expressed in terms realistic and meaningful to the general public (and therefore "simple"). The tendency of any professional group to express itself in its own specialized language can be offset in the case of education by an insistence upon the part of those who are actually operating the schools that their objectives be translated into ordinary words. This will require that the objectives be thought through for the various ability and interest groups in the schools, and this in turn will help keep the educational program such that all children can profit by it.

Interpretation in terms of the life of the community itself is a good principle to follow. Art work makes a difference in how children dress, what their homes look like, what the children may contribute to the improvement of parks, etc. Literature has to do with the reading habits of children and can be expressed in terms of what is available in the libraries, on the newsstands, and in the homes. Music can be expressed in terms of the offerings of the radio and phonograph. When it is realized that there is nothing particularly systematic about any educational activity; that any activity must contribute either to life by changing habits or by providing some useful stock of concepts and knowledge more or less common to all the population, the task of adapting the offerings of the school to the whole range of school population becomes greatly simplified and the danger of offerings by which children cannot profit decreases.

Awareness of Public Standards of Achievement

When changes are being made in the educational program there is always the danger that the public may not fully appreciate even excellent reasons for change. The public is quite as prone to the intellectual fallacy of taking the container for the contained as is the profession. Easy acceptance of the objective of learning to read for every child,

regardless of the ability of the child to learn to read, is one example of this. The strength of public attitude on this is so great that a school undertaking a more defensible program than that followed in the primary grades may have to do a certain amount of relatively useless work as a matter of prudence until the public has more defensible objectives for the primary years. Any one who has taught in a country school knows something of expectancy. The public tends to measure the quality of the school by the arithmetic children learn, by the particular words they learn to spell at various grade levels, etc. It is prudent to be alert to these oversimplified indexes of educational efficiency and to provide, where possible, that they be met. Certainly it is not prudent to fail to meet them in any successful program of the reeducation of the public. If grandmother, grandfather, mother, and father all learned to spell "daguerreotype" by the third grade, it may be well to see that little Mary and Johnny also learn to spell it by the third grade, regardless of the educational reasoning, at least until the problem has been cleared up with the grandparents' peace society.

In brief, the school should not violate in its work or in its claims those things which the people hold dear. We may not teach how to think in the simplified manner to which the public has been accustomed to think that such teaching can be carried on, but certainly the schools today teach children how to think far more effectively than any earlier schools. The teaching is in line with psychological facts, whereas much of the old-time teaching of how to think was based upon a faulty psychology. This being true, we should not allow our own knowledge of the complexity of the problem to keep us from emphasizing the fact that one of the many tasks of the schools is to teach children how to think. Similarly, it would seem to be far more prudent to emphasize the splendid cultural and habit-forming contributions to moral stamina than to assume that the separation of church and state makes no character building possible in the schools.

The rule works both ways. Parents often become alert to what they consider to be an objective which they see clearly, although perhaps erroneously. The chances are very good that the objective will not be in conflict with those held by the schools, although the description may be couched in terms of discredited practices. In such cases it is prudent for principals, teachers, and administrators to try to get behind the words to the true meanings, to seek to see what the fundamental difficulty is, and to meet it. The assumption that the parent as well as the teacher is concerned with the best interests of the children makes a splendid beginning for a conference which

might easily become a controversy. The writer well remembers the country schoolteacher who, knowing from the reports of the children that a parent was on the way to school to give him a beating, through fear or good sense was able to meet the parent at the door with an extended hand and a cheerful "Good morning, Mr. Jones," and got an invitation to spend the weekend rather than a beating which was in a degree deserved.

Merit of Simplicity

This is not to pass over the critical significance of the simplicity principle. Certainly, other things being anywhere near equal, the simpler of two plans is to be preferred. Most proposals can be streamlined considerably if attention is given to just how significant their complicated embellishments are. This is the task that engineers face continually in reducing theoretical mathematical formulas to practical use. In actual practice they examine the significance of theoretical factors the value of which cannot be judged by pure mathematics. Perhaps there is much more that we can do with our educational inventions in reducing them to simpler forms.

Dangers from Complexity

One basic advantage to a simple procedure is that the more people who understand it the less likely it is to get out of hand. Once a complex procedure has been adopted it comes to gain merit from its very mysteriousness. The public assumes that if such a complex procedure was adopted it must have had some overwhelming justification. Accordingly, they hesitate to meddle with it.

This holds for prudential provisions as well as others. For example, the writer had occasion to follow through the system of checks and balances surrounding the making of expenditures in the cities of a certain state. Vouchers were made out in the school office and sent to the city auditor. This was believed by all concerned to be a check on public moneys. As a matter of fact, the auditor had no authority to challenge the vouchers. He simply recorded them by number and sent them on to the treasurer. The treasurer recorded them in another book that corresponded with a city system of accounts and paid them. He was simply the disbursing officer. There was a great deal of bookkeeping without any prudential safeguards. Yet the citizens, school board, city officials, and all others concerned thought they had a fine system of checks and balances. The complexity of this situation was therefore a source of potential danger.

Fiscal Dependence an Example of Undue Complexity

Another illustration of a prudential arrangement quite the opposite of prudence is the system of fiscal dependence of boards of education on municipal governments. Where this exists as a prudential measure rather than as a device to settle problems arising from over-all tax limits, its justification is in the check of the school board exercised by municipal authority. Of course the economy argument is also used to justify retaining this solution where it exists. McGaughy in the early twenties exploded this theory by evidence that fiscally responsible school boards do not spend any more than fiscally dependent school boards, but that they do spend more in proportion on strictly educational matters.[1] At least it showed that fiscal dependence did not result in smaller expenditures, whatever other conclusions it may have supported. There is reason to believe, however, that money spent by fiscally responsible boards is better spent. Fiscally responsible boards cannot escape the responsibility for thinking through educational problems by citing their lack of ultimate authority. Furthermore, fiscally responsible boards know that savings they make go either into the educational program or back into the taxpayers' pockets while fiscally dependent boards have no such assurance and consequently no spur to careful analysis of their programs.

Where boards do not have the simple structure that gives them direct responsibility to the people, the structure should be simplified.

In a great many instances fiscal dependence has resulted from another prudential device: the setting of an over-all limitation on property taxes for current purposes. This questionable prudential step has become quite popular in recent years. In such a situation it becomes necessary to have some body or group determine how the available taxes shall be apportioned between the municipal government and the school district. For some obscure reason this authority is commonly vested in the municipal government.[2] It might conceivably, and with as poor logic, be placed in the local board of education but never is. The practice is undesirable and the results are likely to be bad.

The best solution to this problem is to eliminate the prudential provision of tax limitations. If this cannot be done, then the next

[1] McGaughy, J. R., "The Fiscal Administration of City School Systems," *The Education Finance Inquiry Commission*, Vol. V, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924.

[2] In most city districts of New Jersey, it is placed in a special board made up of two representatives of the board of education, two of the city council and the mayor. In Ohio and Oklahoma the power is placed in a county board.

best device for obtaining freedom for the local school district is to earmark a given millage for the use of the school district and for its use alone. This practice is followed in a number of communities. But it has its drawbacks. The chief difficulty is that once the district has used up its tax leeway it finds itself with a crippling limitation of power to make decisions. Local tax leeway—and hence local power to make decisions affecting the educational program—may be safeguarded in part provided the state increases its contribution to the foundation program. The danger to be guarded against when this device is employed is mistaking that which appears to be relief for that which actually is not. When the state has used this device for increasing tax leeway to districts which do not have a guaranteed millage, there have been too many instances where the tax leeway actually flowed to the municipal government rather than to the schools themselves. Tax leeway for municipal purposes may be needed badly, and the state may be justified in granting aid to municipalities for this purpose. It is hardly justifiable, however, to bring about readjustments in municipal government by what really becomes a fake increase of aid to schools. In such cases experience has shown that the public does not understand that the increased tax leeway goes to the municipality and not to the schools. For example, in the reduction of state aid that occurred in New York State in the early thirties no one seriously suggested that part of the reduction should be met by the municipal governments in those communities operating under tax limitations. However, a check on what happened to state aid when it was originally granted showed that part of it went to municipal governments. Obviously it is not prudent to expect the public to understand the flow of such funds.

Having over-all tax limitations in which a specified millage is earmarked for schools, the municipality may grant to the schools money in excess of that raised by the specified millage. The granting of this additional money may be conditioned by municipal control of the educational program. The amount granted by the municipality usually is small in relation to the amount obtained from the specified millage, but in order to get it the local board of education may be tempted to surrender substantial control of the entire budget. This situation currently obtains in New York City.

School administration should be alert to take advantage of all the facilities that can help the schools in realizing their purposes. This demands cooperation with private agencies and public agencies. It means that the school superintendent shall be free to call upon others for assistance and to be called upon also for his assistance. There

would seem to be nothing in this attitude conflicting with the desirability of keeping the schools fiscally responsible.[1] With the basic power to decide with respect to the school budget left to the board of education, there need be no fear of taking advantage of cooperative activity with municipal government, with other public agencies, or with private agencies. Prudence, however, demands that the fact be held in mind continuously that the schools are measured not by the amount of cooperation obtained in getting a job done but by the quality of the job. Prudence does not, therefore, demand cooperation for cooperation's sake. It demands cooperation for the sake of furthering educational objectives.

RESPONSIBILITY AND AUTHORITY

The discussion of fiscal responsibility of school boards is closely related to another application of the prudence principle, *i.e.*, the association in an agent of authority commensurate with its responsibility. This principle grows out of varied experience in complex institutions and enterprises. Experience shows that an administrator held responsible but not given the requisite authority is likely to be inefficient.

The issues involved are interestingly summarized in the following:

> It will generally be found that he has failed to delegate sufficient power for the task ostensibly assigned; or failed to make clear to each official from the beginning precisely where his own power and responsibility began and ended; or failed to prevent duplication and conflict of powers; or failed to support an official fully as long as he was retained in office and kept within his assigned power; or failed to discipline or remove an official the moment he overstepped his assigned power.[2]

Application to Structure of Local School Systems

The implications of this principle come out in considering the organizational and operational structure of the school system as they are reflected in board rules and regulations and formal or informal operational plans. In such documents and plans a crucial aspect is bound to be the allocation of responsibility and authority. If, in the allocation of authority, considering all the principles that come into play, doubt is left with respect to ultimate authority to act, the principle is violated. Care must be taken not to give the person to whom responsibility is allotted the feeling that he has to run to higher

[1] Henry and Kerwin found no significant difference in this respect between independent and dependent school systems. See HENRY, NELSON B., and JEROME G. KERWIN, *Schools and City Government*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938.

[2] From an editorial appearing in *The New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1944.

authority, and it is quite as important that language be avoided that seems to invite appeal to higher authority. Such terms as "subject to the approval of the superintendent" and "subject to the approval of the board" should be used with extreme caution. Here one aspect of prudence conflicts with another that is often of greater importance. Presumably the superintendent or the board, as the case may be, has had a hand in delegating the responsibility and authority and, if necessary, can withdraw it. It should not be necessary under such circumstances to seek to cover every contingency and thus to invite weak administration.

Application to Audits

The essential purpose of audits by a state authority or by certified public accountants is to assure that those who have the responsibility for carrying out the financial instructions of the board actually do exercise that responsibility. If the agency has the power to pass on the efficiency of the act, the audit runs seriously into conflict with the responsibility principle, and if it seeks to determine the legality of the original authorization, it conflicts with adaptability. So the audit should be limited to honesty in the sense that established procedures have been carried out to safeguard against fraud.

The state may well set up regulations assuring that the expenditures be in accordance with the duly authorized budget or with modifications in that budget made by authorized processes. In this case the audit in effect becomes an audit of the board's keeping faith with those whom the budget affects and, if the budget has been democratically developed, with those with whom it is a sort of contract.

In the actual operation of schools, prudence demands that there shall be an economical expenditure of funds. The concern for economy may be so great as to lead to the creation of a state auditing body with the power to preview budgets in order to determine whether or not planned expenditures are economical. The danger to be feared in this respect is that the state body will be so diligent that the actual result will be a shifting of powers from local districts to the state. It will prove an indirect but nevertheless real reallocation of powers, leaving the local districts as the operating units and the central office as the controlling unit. If such arrangements do not become superfluous by neglect, they become obnoxious by exercise. They constitute a drastic change in the structural pattern, even though the change may be made with purely prudential considerations in mind. Needless to say, this should be avoided. Such changes should be made as matters of deliberate balanced judgment.

LOYALTIES

An important ingredient of the cement that holds together the hundreds of groups into which any large population forms itself is loyalty to a cause or to the group itself. Change in an educational program often calls for a new alignment of loyalties and the breaking down of old loyalties. The response of the public in opposition to change is quite as often an opposition to real or imagined shifting of loyalties as it is a regard for stability in the purposes to be served, even though the reason for objection will probably be couched in the more "defensible" regard for stability.

Applied to Consolidation of Schools

A dramatic example of the operation of this phenomenon of the public mind is the opposition of rural communities to giving up the one-room school. These people went to school here; their parents attended this school and their grandparents. It is associated with the romantic aspects of life. Attacks on its inadequacy may cause resentment. The response is likely to be "It was good enough for me and it is good enough for my children." The real difficulty may be outraged loyalties. If this is the case, the approach of administration should be through praise of what the school has meant in its long history; the appeal should be to provide as good education for their children in their time as the education in this school was for the parents in their time. Perhaps to this should be added a plan to keep the old schoolhouse as a community meeting place, as a local museum for the first spike-tooth harrow, great-grandfather's grain cradle, grandmother's cookie jar. How shortsighted we have been not to capitalize on these loyalties to make country life richer. The writer will long remember his own feelings of outraged loyalties when he visited the country school where he began his teaching and found that it had been turned into a tool shed. On the hill behind the remains of this institution were the gravestones of the men and women who had carved the beautiful countryside out of the wilderness, of the men who had given of their time to help the youngsters learn to judge corn and cattle. I have no doubt but that the community could have afforded to keep up this building for old times' sake, could have even afforded to carve on a monument the names of these solid citizens who had their whole educational experience here.

Applied to Small Everyday Matters

Loyalties play a part in much smaller matters. There are loyalties to the subjects we studied, to the words we learned to spell, to the

persons who inaugurated a plan now to be abandoned, to persons who worked valiantly without apparently getting the notice of the administration. They are found in staff, students, parents, and public. Prudent is the administrator who has a sense for them and a knack for harnessing rather than for frustrating them.

Applied to Minorities

The same type of reasoning argues for making adjustments to minority religious and social beliefs. One school principal arranged for the children belonging to a certain religious sect to come 15 minutes late in the morning and to stay 15 minutes late after school so that they would not be subjected to the requirement of saluting the flag. Probably he had a far more realistic notion of what it takes to develop patriotism than those who insist upon a uniform rule for all. Actual experience showed that the children belonging to this religious sect did not like to stay after school better than any other children, and once the matter was not made a point of principle, they soon found it possible to join in the exercises. Even if they had not, the adjustment was probably a far more sensible one than one that has so often precipitated rather ghastly court cases.

In another instance, the teacher who found one such child in a classroom who on the first day stated that she could not salute the flag because she belonged to a particular religious sect, met the situation in quite as prudent a fashion. She said, "All right then, we need someone to hold the flag. You hold the flag and the rest of us will salute it." There seemed to be nothing in the regulations of the sect that prohibited holding the flag, or if there was something the child did not know about it. She gladly joined in this cooperative venture and everyone was happy. This solution avoided difficulty and tension and doubtless was as effective in teaching a fundamental respect and love for government as the normal procedure would have been.

INERTIA

The strange or the unexpected causes shock. The response of those concerned, public, staff, student body, or board, is frequently unreasoned opposition, unwillingness to go along with the plan, panic that may cause abandoning of a course already undertaken.

This phenomenon is often courted by failure to appraise a new course of action from the point of view of the uninitiated. It may often be avoided by examining it from the point of view of those likely to be concerned who have had no opportunity to enter into the reason-

ing on which it is based. One frequently used device for decreasing the probability that some facet of the problem will be overlooked is calling into consultation persons of varied viewpoints. Many administrators are given credit for exercising democracy when in fact they are using prudence. Another device is allowing time to elapse before the plan is put into operation. Taking counsel of one's pillow is a time-honored device that holds for school administration as well as for other human problems. More is made of this problem in the discussion of stability (Chap. XV).

Often the shock comes from failure to consider some humanitarian aspect of the problem. We become so concerned with the results we wish that we forget what the proposed method may involve in burden on staff members, for example. Our judgment gets out of balance with the result that the desired results are not achieved. Use of unbalanced judgment is a violation of prudence in addition to being a violation of the neglected principles. It is not prudent to neglect democracy, justice, and equality; it is not prudent to forget the purposes to be served by the schools in serving too exclusively the urge to be humanitarian.

Ordinarily we associate the term "inertia" with a body not in motion. In the physical sense, however, it is quite correct to think of inertia as the tendency of a body in motion to retain its state of motion and direction. There is something of a parallel between the inertia of motion and the tendency of human beings to expect a continuation of action at the rate and in the direction they have been led to expect, either by custom or by promises. Go slow when the community expects deliberation, go fast when delay will irritate.

Similarly, stimulation of hopes for possible action with groups that have no means of influencing the decision to take action may be of questionable prudence, however democratic it may appear to be. In this last instance good administration will seek to open channels for interested groups to influence action rather than to limit the range of discussion—means by which the pupils' thinking may be taken into consideration in determining policy; staff advisory groups to the board of education; provisions for many conferences with citizen and staff groups in the process of formulation of the budget. Lacking such channels, prudence counsels letting sleeping dogs lie.[1]

[1] Plato quotes Socrates as remarking: "For business is not disposed to wait until the doer of the business is at leisure; but the doer must follow up what he is doing, and make the business his first object." Plato, *The Republic*, p. 62, Jowett Translation, New York: Dial Press, Inc.

DANGER OF OVERSTRESSING PRUDENTIAL CONSIDERATIONS

Perhaps a word of caution is needed. Here more than in the case of any other principle treated is there danger of forgetting the purpose for which the enterprise is operated. Prudence is so deep-rooted, so respected, that there is great danger of making it central. The writer has had the privilege of visiting many schools in many states and countries during the past two decades. One of the persistent impressions from these visits is the tremendous handicap and the attendant loss in efficiency that has come from the general negative climate in which schools are now operating. Teachers are cramped, frustrated, denied the use of their abilities and enthusiasms by the continuous bombardment of groups seeking to reduce educational expenditures. Rarely is there a group of outstanding citizens, untrammeled by affiliation with parent groups, upholding their hands.

Whatever their level of training, whatever the tools they are given to work with, teachers by and large, probably more than the general run of humanity, find their life in their work. To many of them homes are meaningless. School is home. The work to be done is done. There is always more to do then can be done. There is no go-and-no-go gauge that says this practice meets the standard and need not be better. To most teachers today, as to good teachers always, each boy and girl is a product that always promises to repay one more effort, one more refinement.

How tragic it is, then, for a community to allow its voice to be one that will discourage this extra effort that means so much more to boys and girls than the mere achievement of skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The better its teaching corps, the greater the waste from a community atmosphere that fails to consider their conscientious and sensitive souls as public charges.

One cannot but feel that this tremendous waste is due to lack of awareness on the part of the adult public of the purposes of education and of the machinery that has been devised for attaining these purposes. The result is ill-considered, unduly drastic, and ineffective attempts to improve the prudential management of schools.

Since the problem engages so much attention from our leaders, private and public, or of their satellites, it would seem to be asking little enough to suggest that they become a little better informed on the purposes to be served by education.

The prudential attitude toward government has a long history. Government is always getting out of bounds. Down through the ages it has gone through periodic cycles where it has been considered

a sort of necessary evil. At its best, in its most intimate forms it deals largely with the pathological aspects of society: with criminals, with injustice, with epidemics. Perhaps these manifestations of government are greater determiners of public attitude than the service functions such as provision of highways and mail service or the creative functions such as the agriculture experiment stations and education. Perhaps this may be the reason that the more farsighted in the past generations arranged for school elections apart from the regular elections and for fiscal independence of school boards, and why the easy prudential reasoning from analogy with highway and welfare departments, for example, for the centralization of powers in schools leaves cold so many laymen as well as professional workers.

School administrators have a particularly strong responsibility for balancing positive purpose to be served over against the narrowly prudential considerations. In applying the common sense of the family, as Jeremy Bentham proposed, school administrators should not overlook "the urge for more abundant life" aspects of family life that apply to the school as to no other aspect of government. In the last analysis the prudence of the school (ludisprudence) is to serve its creative purposes. If such a sublimation of these strong forces could take place, William Blake's oft-quoted cynicism, "Prudence is a rich, ugly, old maid courted by incapacity," would be less applicable to school affairs.

SUMMARY

One of the most pervading patterns in the sense of the practical that characterizes our culture is regard for simplicity. We are suspicious of procedures that are so complicated that we cannot readily understand them. Accordingly, administrators should strive to present innovations in meaningful terms, to stress their similarities to the old.

Changes in procedure appear simpler if there has been built up an understanding of the basic characteristics of the school. Those concerned will, under such conditions, be less likely to judge the new in terms of what they do to superficial aspects of the old. Advance notice of changes that give time for understanding to develop is advisable. Professional terminology, however it may make for simplicity in communication within the professional group, is no aid to communication with the public; it introduces unnecessary complexity.

Awareness of what the public holds as standards of the good school is an aid in interpreting the schools to the public in simple ways. It is not easy to consider strange sounding objectives and strange pro-

cedures at the same time. Such awareness is helpful also in keeping the professional group from interpreting words used by the public in the specific ways that the profession has come to consider them.

There is, of course, actual merit to simplicity. Accordingly, attention should be given to simplifying procedures as well as to presenting them in a way that makes for understanding. Complex procedures adopted by one generation may be accepted by the next as having some more or less mysterious fruits. The new generation accordingly shy off from meddling with them. This is probably a partial explanation for the persistence of the school board made fiscally dependent upon municipal government.

Practical everyday experience of people makes them alert to the dangers of assigning responsibility and authority in unbalanced amounts. Sufficient power should be delegated "for the task ostensibly assigned," and each official should have it made clear to him "from the beginning precisely where his own power and responsibility" begins and ends. This principle is of the utmost importance in devising and changing the organizational and operational structure of the school system. Understanding of its relation to audits by state officials should help keep them from becoming destructive.

Change in an educational program often calls for a new alignment of individuals in groups and thus for the breaking down of old group loyalties. Consideration of this principle may smooth the way for major changes, such as school consolidation, and for changes in the small everyday matters. Balancing this principle as a positive criterion may make dealing with minority groups easier and more sensible.

The tendency to strike out against the unexpected should be assessed and anticipated by avoiding the unexpected. Democratic forms leading to wide discussion have as one of their fruits the avoidance of shock from unexpected action. The same principle applies to the fast-moving community as to the slow-moving one. Unexpected delay is quite as irritating as unexpected positive action.

Since the prudential considerations are driven home from childhood, we always run the danger of giving too great weight to them in arriving at a balanced judgment.

Exercises

1. Which of the prudential principles dealt with in this chapter has particularly strong bearing on structural and operational patterns, which on the use of discretion, and which on both?

2. Of the various structural and operational phases of administration outlined in Chap. I, which have, as a chief purpose, the function of serving one or the other of these principles?

3. Give examples of difficulties administration has experienced by failure to appraise the inertia of public, parents, staff, or pupils.

4. Give similar examples showing a disregard for loyalties.

5. Which of these principles account for the qualification of powers given subordinate administrators by the appending of the following: *subject to the approval of the superintendent of schools.*

6. Many administrators like to take more or less sly digs at educational research. Can you find an explanation for this in any one of these principles?

7. Refer again to the books dealing with public relations given in the Selected Readings following Chap. VIII. Can you find an example of where the author was more concerned with prudential considerations than with democratic?

8. What provisions are to be found in the School Code for the State of New Osceola (Appendix E) to serve each of these principles? In your judgment would any of them interfere with the achievement of the purposes for which schools are established?

9. What provisions are to be found in the administrative code of Green Willows, New York (Appendix D) to serve each of these principles? In your judgment would any of them interfere with the humanitarian principles or with the purposes for which the schools are operated?

10. Express in simple terms understandable to the layman some educational idea that we have customarily buried under professional language. (Such ideas as "the child-centered school," "core curriculum," "individual differences," "intelligence quotient," or "activity program" might be used.)

11. Can any of the phases of prudence developed in this chapter be applied in resolving the difficulty some educational leaders see in the "line and staff" organization of school systems?

12. Give examples of prudence in school administration not covered satisfactorily by any of the seven aspects treated in this and the preceding chapter.

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CHAPTER XIII

ADAPTABILITY

Just as the preceding six chapters are manifestations of the institution's relations to individuals in society, adaptability, flexibility, and stability are tied together as manifestations of the institution toward changes in the purposes it serves or in the methods of serving them, on the one hand, and toward the way it deals with individuals in a changing setting on the other. It must be adaptable, flexible, and stable, if it is to serve its purposes effectively and at the same time give due regard to the individual human beings caught up in its functioning.

Of these three the only one that is highly emotionalized, like democracy, justice, and equality, is stability.[1] Large numbers of persons, however, have had sufficient experience with institutions, businesses, or organizations in which they have had some degree of choice so that they can respond to flexibility and adaptability much as they respond to the prudential criteria. They are good business, good common sense.

RELATION OF ADAPTABILITY TO STABILITY AND FLEXIBILITY

Adaptability, stability, and flexibility are really facets of the same thing. The institution must be able to adjust to newly developing needs within its sphere of action and in its dealings with persons necessarily involved. This is adaptability. In the process of achieving its educational purposes, it must be able to deal differently with different human beings who, like teachers, are agents in the process or, like parents and the public at large, are in one way or another affected by the process or its results. This is flexibility. It must be able to achieve adaptability without jeopardizing tried and tested achievements in the process and without undue disruption in the lives of its agents or the people whom it affects; that is, without violating stability. A school must have these three characteristics if it is to achieve its purposes and at the same time give due regard to all persons immediately or remotely concerned. It must hold fast to the good, change what requires change, and be fertile in considering individual differences in all personalities involved.

[1] Probably because of what it has in common with inertia as treated in Chap. XII.

Of the three, the most difficult to achieve is adaptability, for it deals with the unknown, with the newly emerging, with things that are not commonly known. The adaptor is always going beyond common knowledge. He is accordingly a social reject. We have names for him that are only mildly complimentary: "the starry-eyed," "the experimenter," "the pioneer," "he has his head in the clouds," "his feet are not on the ground."

Some of the less desirable of these applications come from the tendency to fall in love with change for change's sake; to seek publicity; to attack the old as bad; to disregard differences in personality among those affected. Actually, good administration does not have these faults. It sees adaptability and stability as opposite sides of the same coin; the judgment as to what is the best way to serve the school's objectives in a given situation. Neither the old nor the new is considered better apart from the evidence of results. This connotes neither progressivism nor conservatism.[1]

As a matter of fact, much that may pass for stability is but the result of neglect to think about our problems. Such neglect may serve narrowly conceived stability but is bound to neglect adaptability and flexibility. Happily, neglect of flexibility sooner or later brings enough human irritations to achieve some measure of adjustment. But adaptability is the neglected facet. "When this is the basis for analysis, those who will be injured are the generations yet unborn or the immature children of the present."[2]

ADAPTABILITY IN AMERICAN CULTURE

Nathaniel Chipman, in setting his specifications for an educational system 150 years ago, said that we must have an education that will break the despotism of tradition—keep abreast of progress and further it. This was an appeal for adaptability in our governmental structure, for the use of education to further adaptability in government. This is the key to the adaptability concept, to be able to adjust to the newly emerging.

As science develops a better understanding of the world we live in, it in a sense writes a prescription for change. Adaptability is the capacity to fill the prescription. Similarly, as social conditions change,

[1] Using these two concepts as "eyepieces" to a microscope for observing communities and professional groups, the writer has not been able to gain any insight into school administration. He has been forced to conclude that neither concept is a useful tool for the school administrator.

[2] Mort, Paul R., and Francis G. Cornell, *Adaptability of Public School Systems*, p. 1, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938.

new prescriptions for living patterns are tendered us. Shifting in our relationship to economic systems of other lands as, for example, the shutting off of the Dutch rubber supplies in the Second World War, demands adjustments. To do without is to lack adaptability; to develop synthetic rubber is to exercise adaptability.

We have been so accustomed to facing upsetting conditions in our national life, from scientific advances, from economic ups and downs, from changes in the national mind, that we find it difficult to conceive of a people resisting change. In fact, we tend to go to the opposite extreme, to accept change as good in and of itself; to think of ability to change as synonymous with progress; to think of resistance to change as synonymous with inefficiency.

At any rate we may count on the American people to respond to the idea that schools too must keep abreast of the best-known practices; that the old is not necessarily the most efficient just because it is old. Just as medical practice changes; just as automobiles change; just as the methods of packaging goods change; schools may also be expected to change in response to new discoveries, new insights, and changes in the social need. But we must consciously appeal to this capacity. It will not well up of itself so readily as the tendency to respond to the humanitarian or prudential appeals.

It is interesting that a concept that has been behind the whole public education movement since the turn of the century, looking toward improvements in teaching, in curriculums, in textbooks, in schoolhouses, in school seating, in lighting, in supervision, and in business management, should have been given so little attention in professional literature. It ran throughout it but was never taken off by itself, as it were, and subjected to analysis. The first monograph on the subject appeared in 1938.[1] As to lack of use of this criterion this book has the following to say:

> One rarely hears of adaptability being used as a constructive criterion, though it is often advanced to justify the maintenance of certain practices. It is one of the arguments made in justification of the granting of taxing power to local communities for the purpose of supplementing the type of school program required by the state. Local taxing power, they say, encourages experimentation free from central censorship, though their real argument often centers about economy, flexibility to meet variations in local conditions, the claimed right of local government, or the alleged dependence of governmental stability on its close proximity to popular control.
>
> Those raising the argument in regard to experimentation claim that from it comes progress and hence adaptation. This is countered by the argument

[1] Mort and Cornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–10.

that highly centralized control makes possible adaptation at will, without the delays caused by the need of convincing a hundred or a thousand local authorities. Most often progress in education is regarded in terms of expansion and extension of the commonplace. Adaptability, or the capacity for future innovation and modification, is assumed or entirely disregarded.

In decisions on detailed policy, adaptability is easily lost sight of. To attain an immediate end, those who cry loudly for local authority will be found insisting on some central requirement to be established by law: all schools, for example, to be forced into a particular pattern with respect to one or more features of the program—so much time for physical education, so much time for compulsory teaching of the Constitution, etc. Again, the proponents of the superiority of central control often appear, when actually on the job, to be far more interested in keeping accessory costs to a minimum and in maintaining checks and balances than in achieving far-reaching, needed, adaptive reforms.

The fact is that nobody has given much more than oratorical reference to the methods of building adaptability into a school system. While it is found among the claims for both central and local support, it seems in reality to have had little or nothing to do with the existence of either form. Where we have local control, as in most American states, adaptability is a historical growth phenomenon, certainly never considered in any systematic fashion. Where systems have changed from local to central control, as in the Cape Province in South Africa, or in the state of North Carolina,[1] it has been to attain objectives quite other than adaptability. In these two cases it was for the purpose of assuring a defensible minimum of educational opportunity for all. There is no evidence that those who designed these central plans gave any consideration to the possibility of maintaining local control for the sake of adaptability. Nor did they seek to defend the centralization move by the claim sometimes made that centralization tends to favor adaptability.

As a result of this neglect, when the criterion is appealed to, it is apt to be in a way that is subject to misunderstanding. Certainly the appeal to adaptability is not an appeal for change to keep up with the Jones's or for change for change's sake. Rather it is an appeal to meet present needs better or needs as yet unmet. The integrity of the need is essential. The validity of the change for improving the manner of meeting old needs or of actually meeting a new need is implicit.

EXAMPLES FROM OTHER FIELDS

Because of the neglect of adaptability in the literature of education, the reader may have some degree of skepticism as to its authenticity as a sanction of the culture. He will think of examples of communities turning back toward the old because it is old, of objections to

[1] Or, we might add, in the development of those centralized states within states—great city school systems.

change in the schools. The answer to these objections is that adaptability will not always be the critical consideration for any one person—nor should it be—and may never be the critical consideration for a group. The fact remains, however, that this is one of the responsive chords in our culture. Failure to take it into account may not only lose support but may in the long run prove disastrous to the educational program in a given community. Examples of how writers in other fields have taken its appeal for granted—as axiomatic—appear in books suggested under B in the Selected Readings at the end of this chapter. A quotation that characterizes interest in adaptability as a distinguishing characteristic of Americans follows:

When a social system has achieved a good adjustment to the other sectors of the group's culture and, through these, to the group's environment, it can get along very well without utilizing special gifts. However, as soon as changes within the culture or in the external environment produce maladjustments, it has to recognize and utilize those gifts. The development of new social patterns calls for the individual qualities of thought and initiative, and the freer the rein given to these the more quickly new adjustments can be arrived at. For this reason, societies living under new or changing conditions are usually characterized by a wealth of achievable statuses and by very broad delimitations of the competition for them. . Well-adjusted societies are, in general, characterized by a high preponderance of ascribed over achieved statuses, and increasing perfection of adjustment usually goes hand in hand with increasing rigidity of the social system. . . . Americans have been trained to attach such high values to individual initiative that they tend to look down upon societies which are rigidly organized and to pity the persons who live in them. . Membership in a rigidly organized society may deprive the individual of opportunities to exercise his particular gifts, but it gives him an emotional security which is almost unknown among ourselves.[1]

NEED FOR GREATER EMPHASIS IN EDUCATION

The burden of the above discussion has been that greater consideration of the adaptability criterion is needed in education. In other words, education has not been sufficiently adaptable to adaptability. The authenticity of the need is supported by the results of studies of the rate of adjustment of schools to scientific advancement and social change. The most extensive of these studies were made by Farnsworth, Bateman, and Mort and Cornell.[2] These studies indicate that

[1] LINTON, RALPH, *The Study of Man*, p. 129ff., New York: D. Appleton-Century, Inc., 1936.

[2] FARNSWORTH, PHILO T., *Adaptation Processes in Public School Systems*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940.

BATEMAN, E. ALLEN, *Development of the County-unit School District in Utah*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940.

MORT and CORNELL, *op. cit.*

in the past, in our system as it has operated, a period of 50 years between the recognition of a need and the first introduction of an invention has not been unusual. This is commonly followed by 15 years of experimental tryout, and 35 years of diffusion. To put it in another way, the average American school lags 25 years behind the best practice. There is no information available on the length of time between the emergence of a need and its recognition. We know, however, that many needs have been recognized in recent years which

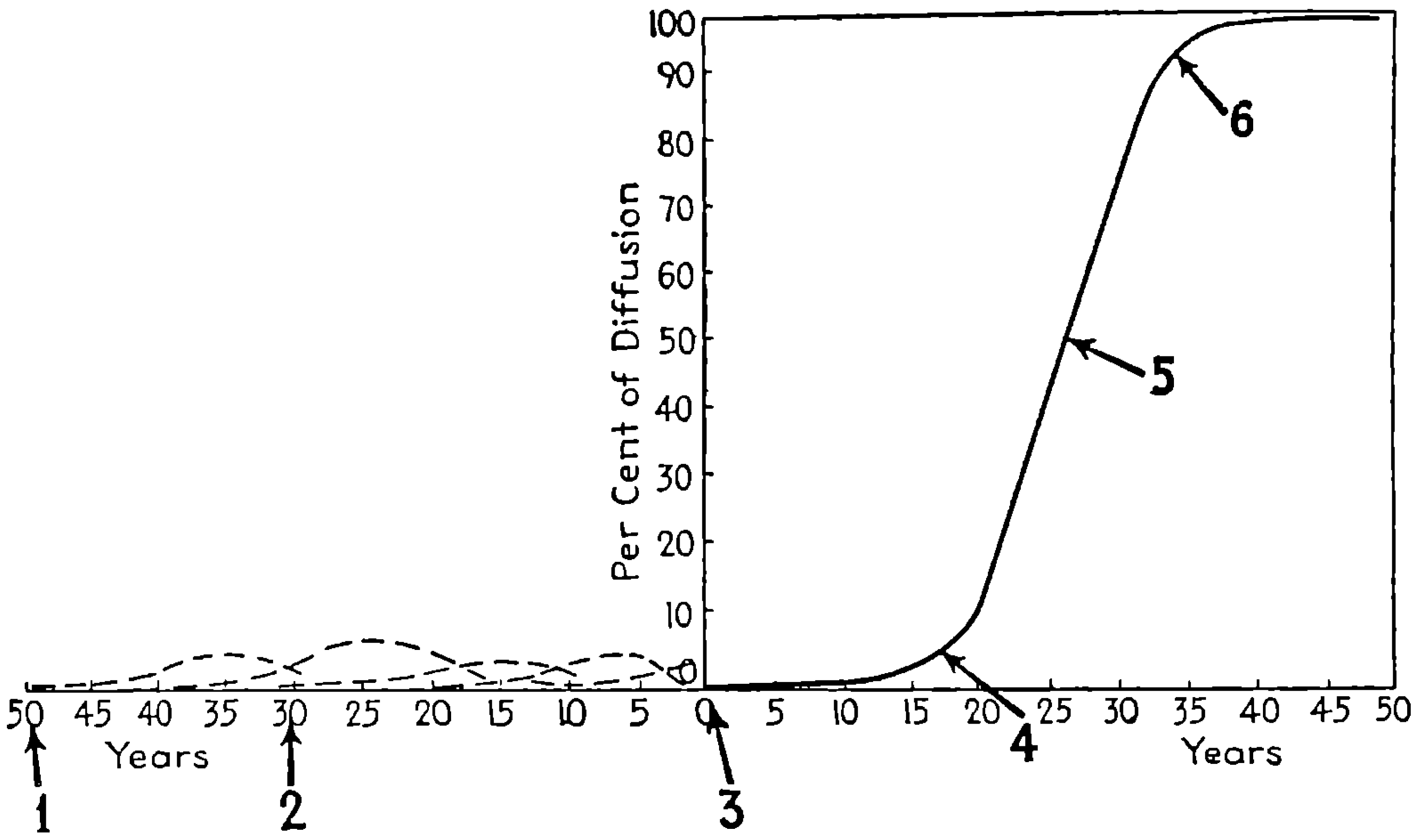

FIG. 1.—The adaptation time scale. (Adapted from Paul R. Mort and F. G. Cornell, *American Schools in Transition*, p. 49.)

1. Recognition of need. 2. Period of refinement of definition of need and of invention of ways of meeting it. This period between 1 and 3 is characterized by many false starts. 3. First introduction of invention destined to be accepted as meeting the need. 4. End of experimental and testing period—speed of diffusion picks up. 5. Period of rapid adoption by the great mass of school districts. 6. All but serious laggards have adopted the practice.

have existed since the emergence of man; for example, the need for vitamins in the diet and the need to discover the germ parent of a particular disease. The time curve of adaptation is shown by Fig. 1.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

It is on the activities of the schools themselves that the principle of adaptability makes the most significant demands. Changes in the social and economic conditions, discoveries of how learning takes place, and the invention of important adaptations in the educational process all have made unprecedented demands upon the schools in the last few decades. The questions to be asked fall into three groups which can be thought of as length, breadth, and depth:

1. Is there need for more extension of the time given to schooling? Should additional years be added to the high school? Should more be done to assist students to go to college? Should more be done on adult education? Should the school year be lengthened? Should better use be made of the summers? Are the school day and the school week long enough? Should schooling be begun earlier? Should mothers of young children and the school work more closely in the important growth years before schooling begins?

2. Is there need for greater variation in the curriculum offerings? How about vocational education—is the work being done now with the help of federal aid really adequate for your community? What advantage should be taken of authentic work not only for its vocational training value but also for its growth value for all children? Is as much being taught about the physical world and our society as children and young people can and should learn? Are there skills of learning and communication that are being neglected?

3. Is there need for a more powerful type of education for every year of schooling? Are the knowledges and skills being taught in such a way as to promise full usefulness in later life? Is attention being given to the discovery and cultivation of special talents? Is sufficient attention being given to the slowly unfolding large patterns of conduct which we think of as intelligence, citizenship, character, health, and personality?

Later this chapter deals with structural features which condition adaptability. But, however favorable the structure may be, adaptation itself comes as a result of the work of individuals. Recent studies indicate that the major needed changes which have emerged from a clarification of educational psychology, philosophy, sociology, and from empirical appraisal studies during the past 40 years, have reached only approximately 30 per cent of the schools of America.[1] Furthermore, they show that the public at large, boards of education, teachers, and even superintendents, are not aware of many of these needed changes which have been established as desirable for 20 or 30 years.

One of the implications of these results is that most administrators today need to appraise the status of their schools and to become aware, along with the public, school board, and teachers, of the demands made on their schools. Probably this, more than any one thing, would serve the adaptability principle. It is true that many of the needed changes require additional money. It is also true that many of the needed changes are not found in the low-expenditure schools, in spite of the fact that they seem on the surface to have no relationship to cost. The inference is that for some reason the low-expenditure schools have a personnel that has not kept up to date. Perhaps teachers were not well enough paid to buy magazines, or to go to

[1] Inferred from results found by Paul R. Mort and Francis G. Cornell in Pennsylvania as reported in *American Schools in Transition*, Chap. I, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941.

summer school, or to buy books, or to travel. Perhaps the same holds for the superintendent. They have all been caught in an eddy at the side of the stream. However this may be, an urge to bring about improvements gives every promise of raising the level of the school systems simply by taking thought and mixing in with it a little hard work. There is every indication that we can by taking thought add several inches to the stature of American education.

The city school surveys that have been made by the hundreds in the past 30 years have at any given time a similarity in detail and a lack of treatment of truly pioneering subject matter which symbolizes the general backwardness of our schools to bring about obviously needed changes. Had our school systems been truly adaptable, such surveys would have had an opportunity to work on the pioneering edge. There is so much to do simply to bring most school systems up to date that one who talks about adaptability in terms of appraisal of need and invention is thought of as a theorist.

SHORT CUTS TO ADAPTATION IN OPERATIONAL UNITS

Follow Best Practice

Most school systems lag far behind best known practices. The task of bringing the schools up to date is not as great as first appears. A school system does not need to go through all the stages adaptations have gone through. A school system that did not respond to the need for semiannual promotions does not now need to get rid of them. In the light of present-day needs, it can start with a considerable advantage towards making those adjustments to individual differences which present understanding of the problem demands. Neither is a school system required to center attention on changes which should have been made 20 years ago and which are still good. For this rather discouraging line of procedure one can be substituted which will tie the adaptations of that era around something newer and more challenging. As a matter of fact, one of the characteristics of the well-adapted school today is the quality of integration that was lacking even in the best adapted schools of 20 years ago. There was a tendency in the schools at that time to be pretty much the old school of 1900 with new bits grafted on; for example, a specialist was added for music instruction. In the better schools of today it is more difficult to see these individual adaptations for they have been merged with other practices in such a way as sometimes almost to lose their identity; the guidance practices in some of the better schools, for example, are merged with the work of classroom teachers. In the vast majority of

instances the adaptations that should have been made 20 years ago are closely related to discoveries more recently made; for example, the kindergarten is related to the wider range of pre-school needs.

Another cue comes from the fact that adaptations usually do not come singly: they come in clusters. It is generally feasible to lay stress on the newer, more dramatic change and carry the others along in its train.

Unhappily, there are too many examples where the newest changes are made without the broader understanding of the necessity for carrying along a cluster of related changes. Recently the writer visited a rural school in which the teacher had made efforts to introduce changes of which she had become aware at a teachers' meeting. The bulletin board was covered with children's drawings. On a bit of inquiry among the children, however, it became apparent that these drawings were largely decoration. They did not result from any understanding on the part of the teacher of the use of drawing as a means of individual expression. As a matter of fact, it seemed to be the teacher's belief that the important thing was to have the product, and the psychological implications of getting the product had missed her entirely. Many examples of this symbolic adaptation are seen as different schools are visited.

Another example is the development of supplementary reading materials. There are still many classrooms in which the supplementary books have been nicely arranged on a table, and there are no signs that the books themselves are playing any part in the lives of the children. The tables are too well ordered. Questioning the children reveals that there is no opportunity to get at the books except during recess periods. Locked and vacant libraries fit into the same picture; sandboxes with the figures all nicely cut out by the teacher; plants all brought and cared for by the teacher, or as one teacher said, by the board of education. The vision that flashed through the writer's mind in this last instance was that of the board of education walking in with frock coats and silk hats, each carrying a potted plant. This was, of course, not an accurate picture of what the teacher meant, but it was certainly as accurate as the implication that one might casually get of seeing the children working in an educational setting in which they spend so many of their growing hours.

Scope of Leadership

Studies have shown that teachers tend to have a narrow interest in adaptation. They may exercise leadership in the improvement of the immediate subject in which they are working. They may be interested

in special classes so as to get rid of problem cases. They are seldom interested in improving educational opportunities for pre-school children, for out-of-school youth, or for adults. The adaptability principle would be served by a broadening of interests. Perhaps the administrative organization as it is does much to encourage this narrow point of view. Generally, administrators think of English teachers as English teachers and nothing else. A little investigation will show that most teachers are human beings with much broader interests than they are credited with. The organization of the high school, in particular, tends to canalize teachers as purveyors of subject matter rather than as observers and guides of growth.

Superintendents too have a tendency to assume that their responsibility ends at the district lines. Frequently some of the most pressing problems cannot be solved without considering the wider community. Furthermore, most of the problems of structure which involve state legislation will only be solved as a result of the interests of local school administrators in problems affecting many communities. The concept of the state department of education as the top of the school system has been debilitating. The state department of education has not been organized in the past nor can it likely be organized in the future as the spearhead of structural change.

The adaptability principle makes demands on all fronts where advance in technology or social insight makes opportunities for improvement. It makes demands on the scope and quality of service, on the improvement of ways of working with employees and the public, on school buildings, on business methods, and on materials of construction. To be adaptable a school system must adapt. It must adapt to needs now known and must make decisions in such a manner that the way will be open to future change.

Building Adaptability into the System

An interesting example of building adaptability into a policy or decision is given by good practices in schoolhouse construction. Because of the physical difficulties that have arisen from failure to consider it, adaptability was first given broad consideration as such in the planning of school buildings. Certainly if a program is to be conceived as a changing program we cannot look at a school building as other than a piece of equipment to be adjusted to the purpose at hand. The elimination of bearing walls between classrooms, the development of construction materials which make possible a free shifting of partitions, have made great contributions to the educational program. While it is true that not all changes in educational pro-

grams require a change in buildings, nevertheless, the proper consideration of a school building will result in greatly increased facility for adaptation.

Realization that any policy or procedure starts to get out of date the moment it is put into operation will doubtless often lead to provisions making future change easy. As an example, it may be recommended that rather complex procedures, such as that of developing a budget, should not be set down in detail as a board policy. Agreement by the board on a type of procedure from which the administrator may vary on the understanding that he will keep the board informed would be more adaptable than a formally approved detailed procedure.

Administrative Policies

The local administration is in a key position with respect to the adaptation process itself. Under local administration needs are discovered, invention is developed, introduction is made, and experimental application carried through. Considering local operation as a means to better schools rather than as a means to promote the democratic method of control, the criterion of adaptability is of major importance. More than any other criterion, adaptability makes continuous demands upon creative ability. However, the administrative organization within the system itself is but a facilitating agency. The recognition of needs, the invention of ways of meeting them, the experimentation with new adaptations, are problems for the individuals within the school system. The task of the administrator, therefore, is to set up a favorable situation.

LOCAL SETTING

Since 1935 there have been a number of studies utilizing the adaptability criterion in the analysis of state legal structure for education on those conditions which make it likely that a community will be adaptable or to the contrary. At the time of this writing extensive research is being carried on seeking to discover the invention and refinement of adaptations and the more rapid adoption of improved inventions. From what is now available, certain high spots can be pointed out that should at least sensitize the reader to the scope and force of the adaptability criterion in local administration.

Influence of Community

One of the astonishing findings of the earlier studies is that the community surrounding the operating unit has a tremendous potential for influencing the character of education. In school districts up to

100,000 population, almost any measure of the community was found to be more closely related to the adaptation status of the schools than any of the measures of school staff that have been customarily used as indexes of the quality of the staff.[1] The implications of these findings grow as this area is subjected to more study. It is clear that school administration must be concerned with the trends of change in the community, with taking a hand in community decisions that may lead to a more or less adaptable school system. Wealth, tax leeway, character of the population—all in more or less rapid flux in any community, appear to be strong determinants of the character of the schools.

The various community factors studied may be conveniently classified into three groups: (1) those related to good will towards education; (2) those reflecting the understanding of what schools can do; and (3) those indicating the presence of factors which help or hinder the translation of good will and understanding into educational policy.

Of these three, the one which ranks the highest is the understanding of just how education can be a power in individual life and in the community life. This is readily subject to change. It requires working with the public on what the schools might be able to do in the light of the best-known practices and is not adequately covered by the ordinary public relations program, which seeks to explain what schools are now doing. It is somewhat revolutionary in its demands. No longer may administration be content with a "public relations program" designed to keep the public "up on the schools" for prudential reasons. It is clearly a major demand on the superintendent himself, on the school board, and on a good number of persons throughout the system. It requires that the public (not only the parents) be taken into account to a degree that the democracy principle has seldom if ever been interpreted as demanding. It requires the formulation of new materials designed to increase the understanding of the power of education. A list of materials available at this writing is given as a part of the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

Also of importance are those factors which seem to reflect good will towards education. Among them are the educational level of the community, the percentage of business and professional employees, the percentage of adults born outside of the county, and the size of the school district. Clearly, changes in the community that tend to

[1] See Mort and Cornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 465–466, for correlations of social, economic, and staff measures of adaptability and a statistical sampling of Pennsylvania school districts.

increase these percentages will tend to build up the educational potential of the community.

A third group are those factors which tend to spur on or hold back the community potential arising out of good will and understanding. Among those that seem to be stimulating are an upward trend in population, wealth per pupil, and the percentage of home owners. Among those that appear to be resistances are high tax rates on property and the percentage of pupils attending nonpublic schools. Once conscious of the importance of these matters, the administration can plan an important part in promoting the favorable characteristics and correcting the resistance characteristics.

We are due for other surprises in untapped resources as these studies proceed.

Staff

The revelation in earlier studies of characteristics of staffs that have been in the eye of administration and are not as closely related to adaptability as might be expected is the basis for extensive studies of staff characteristics now under way. Most administrators have deplored the lack of young blood, yet to our great surprise studies have shown a direct relationship between age of staff and adaptability of schools. It is not high, but it is quite to the contrary of what was expected.

Searching for staff characteristics that might be related more closely to adaptability, current studies are delving into measures of the scope of cultural contacts of staff members, scope of contacts with the immediate community and with the detailed breakdown of professional preparation as well as with such items as the percentage of men teachers and the percentage of married teachers. These studies will be worth watching for. They may make administration alert to new factors in the day-to-day selection of staff members through which the pattern of the school staff is more or less rapidly changing.

Whatever may be the cultural and professional background of teachers, it seems clear from the studies already made in adaptability that a teaching staff could profit by a better understanding of what education can do as compared with the particular merits of their own grades or subjects. In the earlier studies it was discovered that while teachers on the whole had somewhat of an advantage over the general public in their understanding of the power of education, a very large percentage of them were less well informed than the average member of the public. Here it is interesting to note that the percentage of

teachers having a good understanding had a better relationship with adaptability than the average level of understanding. The same was found to be true with respect to the public. This suggests that work on raising the level of understanding, even with a few teachers and a few members of the public, will begin to pay dividends. It also suggests the possibility that a joint study of education by interested staff members and the best and wisest in the community might be a profitable way of making a beginning towards an increased understanding of the power of education.

If we are to consider that the potential of a teaching staff rises from its background and from its understanding of the power of education, we cannot but consider the whole pattern of school administration as a complex of devices which, whatever their intent, either release this potential or suppress it.

Early studies show that the expenditure level of schools is highly related to adaptability; this in spite of the fact that many of the characteristics of good schools do not in and of themselves cost any more. Is it not reasonable to assume that the expenditure level is one of the factors that either implements or dampens the potential of a staff according to its favorableness? Likewise it is worth while to investigate not only the financial factors, but the staff characteristics, the interpretation by the staff of public attitudes (which may be grossly erroneous), the various administrative arrangements, such as the character of the board (how it is elected, how it works), the arrangements for stability in administration, the simplicity of the power lines (dual administration or unitary administration, for example), and the nature of the relationships with central agencies. Studies now being carried on under the auspices of the Metropolitan School Study Council are dipping into all these matters.

Student Body

Considering the student body as made up of budding human beings who are a part of the community and also, in a sense, a part of the school staff, it is not difficult to see that they are a source of great potential. Past studies have shown that little use is made of pupils. Any ideas which they may have bearing on the nature of the schools trickle through arrangements made for self-government—arrangements which have not had adaptability in mind. Studies completed to date have gone into these problems to only a very minor degree. Current studies, however, are seeking to discover the relationship of the backgrounds of pupils and their level of understanding to the quality of schools. They are seeking also to appraise the various

administrative devices used which may serve as channels between these younger members of the community and those who control policy.

Symbiotic Groups and Other Operational Factors

Wherever people live in close proximity to one another, various sorts of group relationships spring up. Some of these groups may be inimical to public education; some may be organized definitely around public education, such, for example, as parent-teacher associations. Most of them, however, are organized ostensibly for other purposes that, to a varying degree, monopolize the course of their discussion. Churches are examples of groups in which the purpose has a strong monopoly over the interplay of minds. In contrast, the purposes of community-improvement societies and luncheon clubs leave wide leeway for a consideration of matters of general concern such as public education. These cells of human communication within a population provide ready-made groups of people for a study of the power of education and, in varying degrees, channels for expressing opinions with respect to what the schools should do.

Schools are found to vary markedly in the degree to which they are conscious of these symbiotic groups in the population they serve. They vary also in the degree to which they attempt to utilize them. One of the tasks of school administration seems to be to assess these assets in the community, to discover the interests they have which might lead to a better understanding of the power of education, and to open channels of communication to the schools directly or to the board of education.[1] Certainly there is plenty of evidence that we cannot depend upon even the best school board to do the job of raising public understanding or, in the ordinary course of events, to be conscious of the trends of thinking in the community. This is a problem that should receive major attention from boards of education and school administrators.

One device that has been suggested is the use of four or five board meetings in the year for the sole purpose of carrying on a discussion of educational problems with interested persons invited from the community and from the teaching staff. Perhaps it would also be worth while to include mature pupils in some of these discussions.

STATE SETTING

The original studies of adaptability stemmed from studies in state school finance. Cubberley, in his review of the practices in school

[1] Dr. Wilbur Hallenbeck points out that often those who hold educational values high among community values are found to have no strong voice in the community groups that have the freest channels of influence on community policy.

finance up to the turn of the century, thought that he had seen two principles in operation—one, equalization of educational opportunity and the other, reward for effort. In the two decades that followed, state aid systems were built largely on the assumption that half the aid ought to go for reward for effort and half for helping weak communities. Strayer and Haig, reviewing this in the early twenties, came to the conclusion that such use of Cubberley's two principles led to a cancellation of effects. They rejected reward for effort as a principle and drew much more far-reaching implications from the equality principle than had theretofore been recognized. Interestingly enough, however, in stating the clear demands of the equalization principle they stated that this was not to be interpreted to mean uniformity; that it was not to be interpreted to mean that communities that wished to do more than the minimum should be denied the right to do so. This was a cloud on the horizon no bigger than a man's hand in the early twenties but grew to tremendous proportions in the considerations of the following two decades.

Plans of school finance that failed to take into account the wholesomeness of conditions favoring local initiative over and beyond the minimum were seen to conflict with this something which had caused Cubberley to formulate his reward for effort principle and Strayer and Haig to give the warning that communities should not be kept from doing more than the required minimum.

It is not surprising therefore that the first far-reaching implications of the adaptability principle were seen in the structural setting of the state school system rather than in the operation of the local system, and that the first studies on the application of adaptability to the operation of schools should deal with the state as a unit rather than with the local community. Some of the major implications of these studies follow.

State Department of Education

It follows from the adaptability principle that state departments of education should be more alert to the experimentation going on in their better-supported communities, seeing to it that knowledge of these experiments is carried from place to place.

In their study of Pennsylvania, Mort and Cornell[1] found that adaptations the value of which had been established two or three decades earlier had escaped the attention of many communities. How this could happen is clear when it is understood that most

[1] Mort and Cornell, *American Schools in Transition*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941.

of the work of state departments today has to do with certain service functions such as computing state aid, certification of teachers, training of teachers, and the collection of statistics. Where they have stepped into the role of adaptors they have tended to limit their work to specified areas and to maintain work in these areas long after the adaptations are well diffused. They have given attention to these special areas to the neglect of other areas.

They have tended to enter these areas only after the adaptations are well along. This is indicated by the studies showing that permissive legislation has often followed some years after first introductions and that many introductions have experienced considerable diffusion before central officials have shown any consciousness of their existence.

The lag in permissive legislation may be due partly to fear on the part of local administrators that to bring the adaptation to the attention of the state department of education would be to awaken opposition. There is certainly danger of this in our system where, according to our oversimplified legal theory,[1] the local community cannot legally enter upon an activity which is not permitted by law, either specifically or by implication. *Central officers, interested in keeping schools abreast of the times, must avoid negative decisions even though they may at times be forced to reserve judgment and to profess ignorance until an adaptation has been well established in a few communities.*

Steps in State Adaptation

Studies of how changes have come about in school systems have broken the adaptation period into seven stages: (1) the emergence of a need; (2) the recognition of the need; (3) the definition of the need; (4) the invention of ways and means of meeting the need; (5) the introduction of the invention into one or more communities; (6) the improvement of the invention in actual practice; and (7) the diffusion of the invention throughout the schools of a state. This pattern is commonly followed under the system of local control typical of American schools. Obviously in a centralized system the third, fourth, and fifth periods could be telescoped into one, although more commonly under a centralized system there is a period of introduction and tryout in a limited number of schools.

The adaptability criterion demands that the time be lessened between the emergence of a need and its recognition, between its recognition and development of ways of meeting the need and first introduction, between its first introduction and the establishment

[1] For further discussion of this theory, see Chap. XIX.

of the invention as a practical working plan, and between the establishment of the applicability of the invention and its complete diffusion.

Demands on Structure of State School System

For an educational structure to favor more rapid adaptation it must have in it situations that favor the recognition of need, that favor invention of ways of meeting the need, that favor early introduction and experimental tryout, and that favor wide, rapid diffusion after the invention has been approved for practical value. A structure that provides for the local control of schools, other things being equal, favors invention and early introductions because of the freedom of individual communities to act. A structure that provides for central control and operation of schools favors rapid diffusion because of the power of the central agency to put a new plan into operation in all districts without going through the process of having the change considered and decided upon in a hundred or a thousand communities. Neither plan, considered by itself, has the elements that favor the adaptation process in all its stages.

There is no evidence to show whether or not one plan is superior to the other in its net total effects. The writer's more or less subjective comparison of South African schools with schools supported on a like level in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, indicates that where objectives in the minds of educational workers are parallel, results are not so different as to be apparent without the use of refined measuring instruments. But this is not the issue. The real issue is how either the centralized or decentralized system can be made to work as effectively as possible in favoring adaptations. The indications are that for different reasons the results are unsatisfactory in either system as it now operates.

Need for Lighthouses

Since, essentially, an up-to-date school system is one that meets the needs of boys and girls in terms of the objectives we hold for them as individuals and for them as participants in society, it is clear that *the essential needs must be recognized by those who are aware of these objectives and are at the same time in close association with boys and girls.* For a wide range of needs, therefore, it is essential that a state system have a good number of communities in which the personnel is definitely superior and in which the working conditions are favorable to knowing a great deal about the individual boys and girls and the community in which they live.

These conditions are seldom attained without expenditures some-

what above $3,000[1] per elementary classroom unit. This means average elementary-school salaries greater than $2,250 and high-school salaries appropriately high, with comparable expenditures for materials, with relatively small classes, and with adequate provision for medical and psychological services. Indications to date are that the higher the expenditures go beyond this point, at least up to the $7,000 level, the better. There is little evidence available, one way or the other, on the levels beyond $7,000, but there are indications that the advantages continue to increase within the range now found in public education.

MINIMUM SUPPORT LEVEL FOR RAPID DIFFUSION

It is clear also that the state structure should provide for personnel in all schools capable of leading the community in becoming aware of and assessing the value of proven adaptations.

Evidence to date indicates that this cannot be expected to be obtained in any large degree in schools spending less than $3,000 per elementary classroom unit.[1] So we have two financial conditions tentatively set for a system stressing local autonomy.

For a central operating system it is quite clear that we need the well-supported schools free from central domination, for the recognition of need, invention of practical ways of meeting needs, and perhaps also for the tryout periods. If the decision as to diffusion has to be made by central authority, it would seem at first that the minimum expenditure would not need to be as high as $3,000. This may be countered by the observation that mechanically accepted adaptations are not likely to be effective with inferior personnel in the nonmechanical, or "growth" aspects of education. It is clear from this that most school systems in the United States fall below the adaptability minimum of support. As a matter of fact, more than half the schools in America are operated below the $2,000 level and only about a fifth at or above the $3,000 level. Charts I and II, taken from Norton and Lawler's expenditure study,[2] show the facts for 1940 for the United States as a whole and for two states, one high in support and one low in support.

In our locally operated system, the majority of states have some schools supported on the $3,000 level and upwards. In California, New York, and New Jersey, approximately half the schools are at or above the $3,000 level. A number of states, however, have no schools

[1] 1940 dollars.

[2] NORTON, JOHN K., and EUGENE S. LAWLER, *Public School Expenditures in the United States*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, N.W., 1944.

operated on this high level (see Figs. 2 and 3). Centralized systems, such as those of South Africa, are entirely lacking in schools on the higher level of expenditure since they are all supported on the same level.

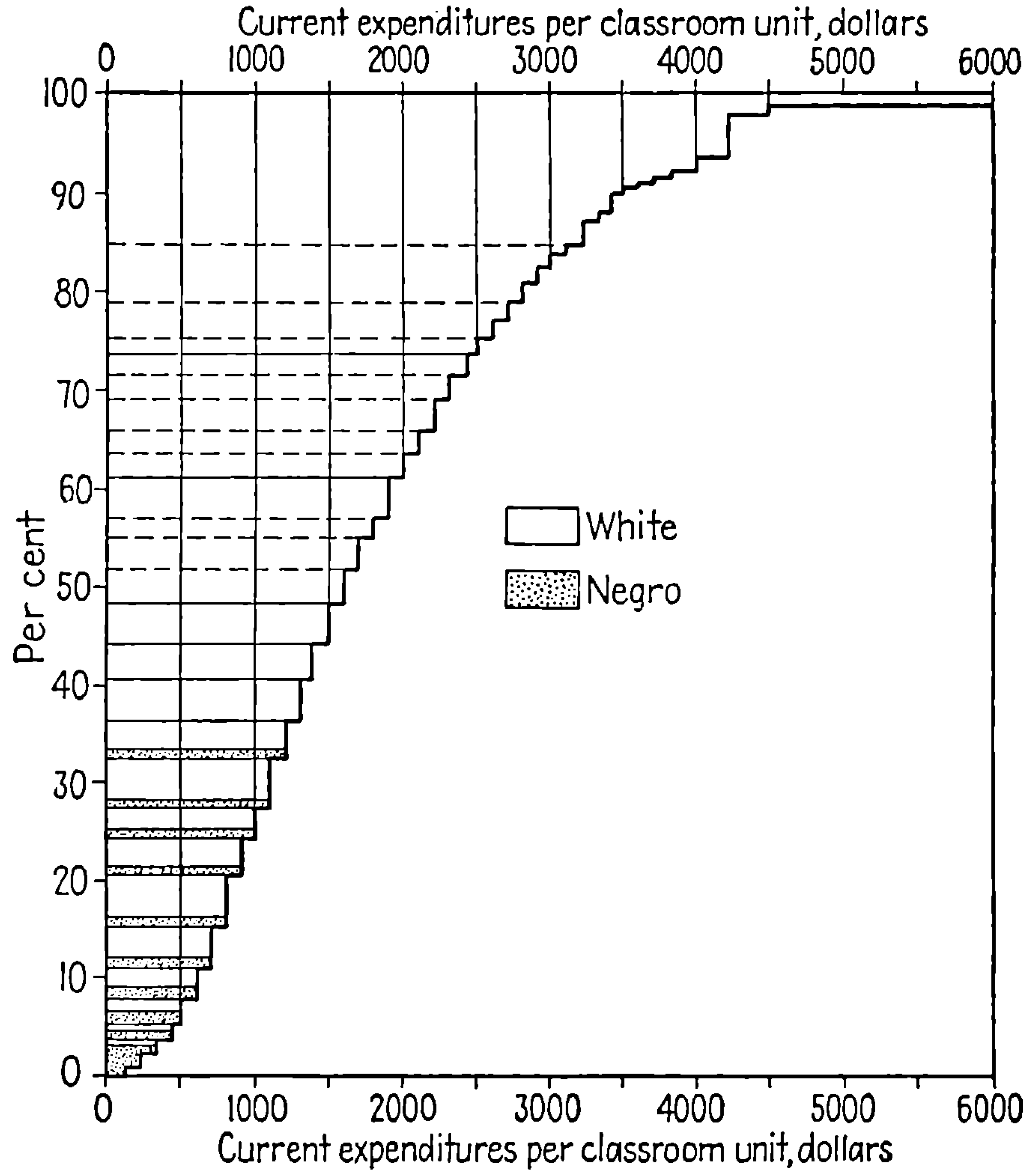

FIG. 2.—Distribution of classroom units according to levels of expenditure in the United States.

Vertical profile lines represent the percentage of classroom units and can be read by means of the vertical percentage scale at the left of the chart. The level of support may be read by extending any profile line until it crosses the dollar scale either at the top or bottom of the chart.

There are 974,754 classroom units in the United States. Eighty-four thousand, eight hundred and forty-four or 8.7 per cent are maintained for Negroes only, and 889,910 or 91.30 per cent for whites and whites and Negroes together. The median classroom unit in the United States falls in the $1,600–1,699 interval. The Negro median classroom unit falls at the $400–499 level and the white median at the $1,700–1,799 level. Data are for 1940. (*This figure and Fig. 3 are from Norton, John K. and Eugene S. Lawler, An Inventory of Public School Expenditures in the United States, Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education,* 1944.)

It is quite clear then that these two rules of action (provision of an adequate minimum of support and provision of "lighthouse" support) demand marked changes in most of the school systems of America and in changes of another sort in the centrally operated schools.

As a corollary to this it is clear that in a number of states it will not be possible to have highly adaptable school systems, either centrally or locally operated, without rather large participation in school support by the federal government. It follows also that in the granting of federal support, consideration must be given not only to the pro-

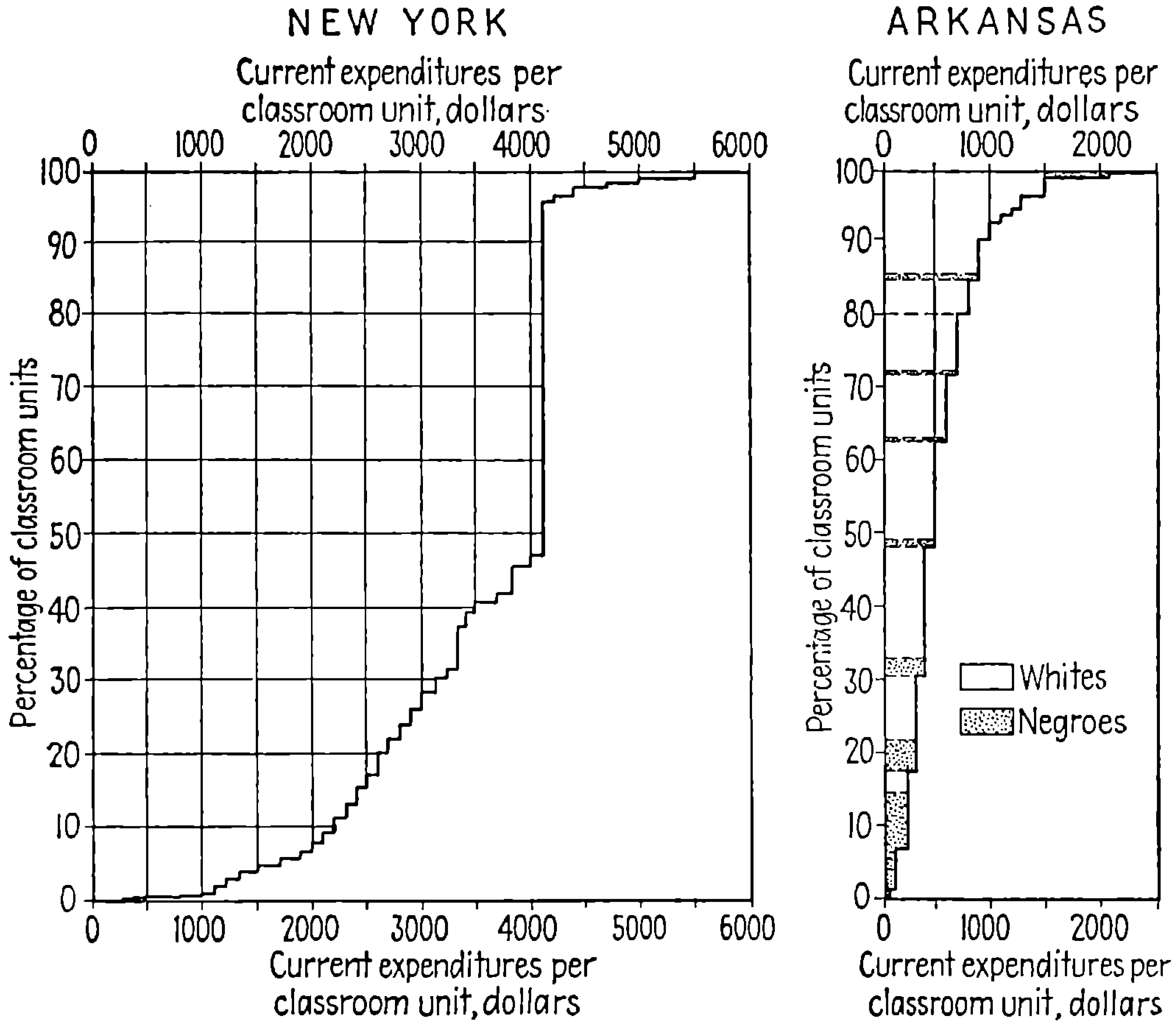

FIG. 3.—Distribution of classroom units according to levels of expenditure.

The vertical axis represents the percentage of the state's classroom units and can be read by means of the vertical scale at the left of the chart. The level of support per classroom unit may be read by extending any vertical profile line until it crosses the dollar horizontal scale either at the top or bottom of the chart.

In New York State there are 81,976 classroom units. The median level of support is $4,100 per classroom unit with a range of from $300 per classroom unit to more than $6,000.

In Arkansas there are 16,739 classroom units in the state. White schools include 77.15 per cent of the units, Negro schools 22.85 per cent. Median level of expenditure per classroom unit: state $500, white schools $500, Negro schools $200. The range in the level of support is from below $100 per classroom unit to more than $2,700.

vision of an adequate minimum but to the provision of those conditions favoring the operation of a goodly number of "lighthouse" schools on a level considerably above the $3,000 minimum.[1]

[1] Even the poorest states have certain limited areas where lighthouse support would be possible if restricting legislation of one sort or another were removed and the idea of providing lighthouse-level support made popular.

Population Characteristics of Adaptable School Districts

There appear to be population characteristics of communities that favor or retard adaptation. The school districts may have a homogeneous population such as a mining town or a farming district. These districts tend to be less alert to changing needs than heterogeneous communities. The community itself must have sufficient differences in outlook in its inhabitants to develop potential change. Interestingly enough this agrees with the conclusions that are drawn from the principle that the local community under our system is a state agent and, being sort of a committee acting for all the people in the state, should have within it a representative population. Adaptability, as well as the principle of state responsibility, requires that in the organization of school districts heterogeneity of population be taken into account.

These same considerations lead to the decision that a school district must be large enough to provide adequate leadership economically and to be able to cope with most educational problems within its own bounds. Mort and Cornell have shown that most of the advantages, so far as adaptability are concerned, that come from an increase in size can be explained from the increase in heterogeneity of population that almost invariably accompanies increase in size.[1] This of course applies to the locally operated schools and seems to apply likewise to "free" schools set up in a centralized system.

A corollary to this rule is that it may not be possible to organize sparsely settled areas in such a way that the adaptability criterion is safeguarded. An extreme case of recognition of this point is seen in the operation of schools of approximately half of the area of the state of Maine by a central agent. These are the unorganized territories of Maine. The property in these territories is taxed at a uniform rate and school facilities are provided under the direct control of the state department of education. Probably this area could be greatly extended in the state of Maine, and similar areas could certainly be justified in most of our states. A state like Wyoming, for example, has only a few districts potentially adequate from the adaptability standpoint. The continuance of local operation in such circumstances contributes little or nothing to the invention and early introduction phases of adaptation and greatly retards diffusion.

TAX FREEDOM OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Another characteristic of local school districts that seems to follow from our principle is that the over-all tax burden carried locally should

[1] MORT and CORNELL, *American Schools in Transition*, *op. cit.* Chap. VI.

not be so great as to deter communities from taxing themselves to support or even to consider supporting new adaptations. A community might have a favorable personnel and a favorable population and still be so overburdened with taxes as to make it overhesitant to embark upon educational programs the advantages of which it clearly sees. A test of this deduction, applied by Knott,[1] shows that there is a definite and negative relationship between tax burden carried and adaptability, as measured in terms of expansion and retrenchment during the years just preceding and the early years of the depression. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that the property tax, which in turn supports local initiative, should not be asked to carry burdens disproportionately large compared to those carried by other taxes, all government considered. A test of the relative burdens of the newer types of taxes that must be administered by the state shows that in most states property is now carrying a disproportionately large share of the burden of government. This demands either that through additional state aid to schools, or state assumption or support of local governmental activities, some readjustment should be brought about in most states between the property tax and other taxes.

THE LARGE CITY DISTRICT

Studies of the relation of adaptability to state school systems and to local operating units began early to raise questions concerning the adequacy of the organization of large city school districts. It is now apparent that the large city school districts are not highly adaptable. They were built upon the pattern of the small school district on which America has operated schools for 300 years. The evidence is cumulative that this pattern, with all of its modifications to date, is not adequate to cope with the situation.

It should be remembered that the large city school district is a new phenomenon. According to the 1940 census there were 92 cities with more than 100,000 population and 43 cities with more than 200,000 population. In 1880 there were only 19 cities with more than 100,000 population and only nine with more than 200,000 population. By 1900 the number above 100,000 had doubled and the number above 200,000 had increased to 19. In 1900 our present largest school district, New York City, consisted of five great school systems the total population of which was 3½ million. Ten years prior to that the population in what was then Greater New York City was served

[1] Knott, W. D., *The Influence of Tax Leeway on Educational Adaptability*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939.

by a multitude of local school boards, the city of Brooklyn being the outstanding school system in the group and having a population of 800,000. In the late nineties the multitude of small districts was amalgamated into five and in 1902 they were swept into one. At about this time similar rather frantic amalgamations were taking place in the other teeming population areas. The avowed purpose was to achieve uniformity.

Never before 1940 had there been a school district as big as New York City, for example, unless we were to consider prewar France operating in a centralized system as a school district. The big city, therefore, is something new under the sun. It was born in the latter part of the nineteenth century at a time before either the public or the profession was conscious of what we now speak of as professional school administration. To a large degree we are still stumbling along with the structures invented to meet this new situation a half century ago.

One of the chief weaknesses of the big city system is that it seems to cut off the operating units from the powerful influences of the public. The local school principal or the local assistant superintendent of schools is not a community administrator as is typical in the school systems of smaller communities. Yet the scope of educational responsibility he carries is as great, and from Westby's study[1] we may conclude that the symbiotic resources in the areas roundabout his schools are comparable in richness to those of independent communities. Principals and assistant superintendents are less conscious of these symbiotic groups; they make less effort to reach them. The channels through which their ideas flow directly into the schools and influence practice are usually not open. In other words, we have few of the known advantages of home rule in terms of their contribution to adaptability.

It is to be hoped that those concerned with the administration of large cities will take to heart that they are working with one of America's most recent educational experiments—an experiment which embraces approximately one-fourth the children of the land. It is hoped that looking at it as an experiment they may become interested in ways and means of improving upon the first crude inventions for the operation of schools in such large units.

The writer does not believe that the answer is in an attempt to turn the clock backward to smaller school districts. He believes, rather, that the answer will be found in some new inventions in relationships

[1] WESTBY, CLEVE O., *Local Autonomy for School Communities in Cities*, New York: The Metropolitan School Study Council, 1945.

that will build more home rule into the system and maintain some of the succinct advantages that have come from the larger city—advantages that have tended to blind us to what appear to be avoidable disadvantages.

There are other disquieting aspects of the large city phenomenon. Many of these large cities have fairly well-supported schools. Yet comparing the salary schedules to those of smaller cities and large villages in the same vicinity spending the same amount per pupil, it will be found usually that teachers' salaries are high and the staff proportionately less adequate. Does this make for favorable conditions? Newell's study of class size and adaptability[1] indicates that on the higher expenditure levels class size is related to adaptability.

Another point at which we may contrast the large city staffs with those of communities of like expenditure level is that the smaller communities tend to recruit experienced teachers—teachers who have gone through a rigorous selection process in those years in which they developed from mere practitioners to the status of master teachers. The large city, on the contrary, after careful selection of young people just out of college, freezes them into their tenure system. The result is that those who do not have the capacity to grow into master teachers are on the staff for life along with those who have high potentialities. It seems likely, therefore, that the large city organization as it operates tends to build up a staff which, while technically highly adequate, has fewer "master" teachers in proportion to its number. This if true might well reduce adaptability.

This contrast, of course, would not be so marked in large cities on lower expenditure levels, of which we have some. But even in these cases the communities of comparable expenditure levels in their neighborhoods have the power to draw from a wider range of more mature teachers than the cities themselves under their present typical recruiting methods.

These suggestions for the large city are still largely conjectural. Studies now under way will throw more light on some of them, particularly the observations on home rule. These conjectures are introduced in this volume in the hope that they may awaken the interests of many people in this interesting phenomenon that has developed in our midst—great centralized states within state systems of education operating under the false assumption that they are typical of the American home rule pattern.

[1] Newell, Clarence A., *Class Size and Adaptability*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943.

SUMMARY

Adaptability, flexibility, and stability are tied together as manifestations of the institution toward changes in the purposes it serves or in the methods of serving them. Adaptability and flexibility are of much the same character. Adaptability is the ability to adjust to newly developing needs or to new insights into methods of meeting old needs, while flexibility is the ability to achieve the recognized end with due regard to differences in situations and individuals concerned. Likewise, adaptability and stability are of much the same character. Adaptability looks to the good in the new, stability to good in the old; accordingly, they are inseparable when it comes to appraising a change in procedure or objective.

Adaptability has been neglected because it is hard to talk of the unfamiliar. Accordingly, the adaptability facets of both the adaptability-flexibility combination and the adaptability-stability combination have also been neglected.

Adaptability makes significant demands upon the educational program. It asks the following questions:

1. Is there need for more extension of the time given to schooling?
2. Is there need for change in the offerings?
3. Is there need for a more powerful type of education for every year of schooling?

The bad showing of the American school system makes it imperative that more attention be given to the adaptability principle. The best practice should be known and followed; the breadth of vision of teachers and administrators should be increased; whenever changes are made, consideration should be given to the machinery for improving them as need arises.

More specifically, administration must view the community about the schools as a source of great potential. Community trend for the worse should be offset; trends for the better should be stimulated. Lay understanding of the power of education should be improved. Community characteristics that dampen the spirit of the community should be corrected; those that predispose a community to go forward should be strengthened. The school staff should be viewed as a source of potential as a staff. It should be gradually strengthened in the areas where it is weak (experience, travel, basic culture). It should be made aware of the best known practices in the art of teaching. It should be given a vision of the power of education. The administrative machinery under which the staff works should be such as to bring out rather than to suppress the staff powers.

What has been said of teachers can be said likewise of pupils, considered as budding citizens and as extensions of the school staff.

The state structural setting of finance and control should be molded with due consideration to adaptability. There should be a good number of school districts that are well enough financed to serve as lighthouses. The minimum expenditure should not be less than that which will favor quick use of improvements. The characteristics of a community favoring adaptability should be taken into account in formulating the requirements for a school district—particularly minimum size and heterogeneity of the population.

Large city school districts, being centralized states within a state, need to be made the subject of searching analysis so that more use can be made of the power of the immediate public, the staff, and the pupils.

Exercises

1. Explain: An administrator is in less danger of neglecting the prudential and humanitarian principles than he is of neglecting the principles of tempo.
2. Show how the tempo of a school system is conditioned by the purposes of education; by the humanitarian principles; by the prudential principles.
3. Differentiate between *making adaptations* and *improving* the adaptability of a school system.
4. Examine the administrative code for Green Willows (Appendix D) for provisions calculated to contribute to adaptability. Do you see any conflict in any of these provisions with the demands of the purpose, humanitarian, or prudential principles? Could any of them be modified further to contribute to adaptability? If so, does the change result in less emphasis on any of the purpose, humanitarian, or prudential principles?
5. Examine the School Code for the State of New Osceola (Appendix E) in the same manner.
6. Should public opinion be viewed as a load the adaptor has to carry, or as a potential force for expediting adaptations?
7. This principle has been subjected to a considerable degree of scientific analysis. It is suggested that the student get a speaking acquaintance with the materials in this field. (A in the Selected Readings for this chapter has been annotated to facilitate this.)
8. Trace the history of an adaption, such as kindergartens, student governments, libraries, etc. in some particular setting.
9. Would the failure of an invention to be diffused indicate it was not a good invention?
10. What factors favor adaptability? What factors inhibit it?

Selected Readings

A. The Question of Educational Adaptability:

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CILLIÉ, FRANÇOIS S.: *Centralization or Decentralization*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. (Holds that entralization of certain aspects of the administration of education and decentralization of others are necessary to achieve maximum adaptability.)

Division of Field Studies, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, *The Report of a Survey of the Public Schools of Newark, New Jersey*. Chap. II, pp. 43–54, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942. (Deals with factors favoring or retarding adaptation in large city systems, how adaptability or lack of adaptability has been demonstrated by a specific system, measures of adaptability, and recommendations for changes to secure more fertile soil for adaptability.)

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FARNSWORTH, PHILO T.: *Adaption Process in Public School Systems*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. (Research into the rate, causative factors and structural implications of five selected educational adaptions. Historical treatment. Libraries, care of exceptional children, supervision of institutions, vocational education, medical inspection of schools.)

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Metropolitan School Study Council, *New Challenges to Education*, New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 1944. (Some investigation into seven areas of unmet needs.)

MORT, PAUL R., and F. G. CORNELL: *Adaptability of Public School Systems*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938. (Pioneer investigation into the matter of adaptability—both as a goal in itself and as a criterion of the system and structure. Considers factors influencing adaptability with considerable attention to items of legal structure

and support. Attention given to adaption pattern that has been further expanded by later studies.)

———: Francis G. Cornell: *American Schools in Transition*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. (Investigates the status of education and what can be done to speed up the process of adoption of desirable educational practices. Basis of book is a survey of education in Pennsylvania selected as having the greatest number of characteristics in common with the whole United States. Draws together all of the research and thought on the problem of adaptability published up to that time.)

———: Arvid J. Burke, Robert S. Fisk: *A Guide for the Analysis and Description of Public School Services*, New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 1944. (Presents widely spaced batteries of questions "useful in checking on the growth since 1900. It is a check on the degree to which the school has adapted to experience in this period.")

Newell, Clarence A.: *Class Size and Adaptability*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. (Study of a specific factor, class size, on invention, early introduction of an invention, and diffusion. Presents some evidence to support thesis of the educational advantage of small classes.)

Norton, John K., and Margaret A. Norton: *Foundations of Curriculum Building*, Chap. I, II, pp. 3–59, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1936. (Basic changes in civilization that have necessitated curriculum revision that goes beyond flexibility in meeting individual or group needs.)

Pettit, Clare N.: *Adaptability in the Schools of the Fowler Union High School District*, New York: unpublished Ed.D. project, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. (Study of a particular school district with concrete proposals made for improvement of adaptability in that community.)

Porubén, Adam, Jr.: *How to Measure the Adaptability Expectancy of a Community's School System*, New York: unpublished Ed.D. project, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. (Suggests a system whereby communities may measure their ability to adapt. Last portion of work furnishes suggestions on how to improve capacity for adaptability.)

School of Education, University of Michigan, *Social Trends and Curriculum Revision*, Ann Arbor, Mich.: Bureau of Educational Reference and Research, 1935. (A treatment of eleven issues that have implications on the needs to be met by the adaptable school.)

Thomas, Maurice J.: *Increasing the Adaptability of Public Schools*, New York: unpublished Ed.D. project, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. (Develops a list of factors that may account for greater or lesser degrees of adaptability in particular communities.)

Wayne, Raymond, *Saber-tooth Curriculum*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939. (A facetious comparison of our failure to meet new needs and concern with the cultural values to the exclusion of the practical in the mythical education of Paleolithic youth.)

Westby, Cleve O.: *Local Autonomy for School Communities in Cities*, New York: The Metropolitan School Study Council, 1945.

B. Adaptability as an Axiomatic Assumption in Other Fields: (The categories of thinking and writing represented here and the books selected to represent these fields are almost a random sampling. The student will undoubtedly

be able to see the acceptance of the adaptability principle in many other categories of thought and in many other volumes.)

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NEVINS, ALLAN: *The Tempo of Political Change*, University of Buffalo Studies, Vol. X, No. 1, Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Buffalo, 1934.

PEARSE, A. S.: *Environment and Life*, Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1930.

ROSS, EDWARD A.: *New Age Sociology*, Chap. XXII, pp. 206–216, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1940.

THORPE, M. R., Editor: *Organic Adaption to Environment*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1924.

C. New Materials Designed to Increase the Public Understanding of the Power of Education:

Connecticut State Board of Education, *Manual for Members of Boards of Education*, Monograph I, "Living and Making a Living," Hartford, Conn.: State Board of Education, 1943.

Department of Secondary School Principals, National Education Association, *Planning for American Youth*, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1944.

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Metropolitan School Study Council, *What Schools Can Do* (101 Book), New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 1944.

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CHAPTER XIV

FLEXIBILITY

The flexibility criterion recognizes the desirability of carrying on given functions in ways particularly adapted to the needs in an individual community or to differences in individuals in a school system. It has much in common with the adaptability criterion but is different in its scope. Adaptability deals specifically with additions to functions or to improved methods of carrying on old functions which may be applied under a great variety of conditions. Flexibility has to do with adjustment in accepted practices to make them better fit local conditions or individual needs. In actual practice the variation may become an important adaptation. A community that varies its program in order to meet needs that it sees, may be meeting needs that exist but are not recognized in many other communities.

Flexibility may be thought of more narrowly than adaptability and stability. It applies to administrative structure and procedure only. Adaptability and stability reach down into the whole organism of the community, including administration.

FLEXIBILITY IN OPERATING UNIT

The larger the school system, the more it tends to inherit the restrictive features of state centralized control. This is doubtless due in part to the fact that one of the purposes for the employment of school superintendents and for the consolidation of school districts in cities into a single school unit was to provide for uniformity. In the schools of the late nineteenth century uniformity was played up as a great virtue. It was considered of great importance that all the teachers follow the same curriculum, partly because once the course of study was developed it was considered by those who had developed it as of sufficient importance for all children to master it. The task of administration and supervision was to see that there was this uniformity. The time of day when the arithmetic class should be called was set by regulation. It was usually the first thing in the morning when children were supposed to be particularly alert. The less important things were placed later in the day. Uniformity was the watchword.

The principal who found that the spelling class had run over a minute beyond the time listed on the teacher's posted schedule had an important matter of discipline on his hands. Much emphasis was given to the importance of having the same textbooks and the same week-to-week progress in those textbooks in order that children might shift from school to school without being too greatly handicapped.

Of all the long series of advantages of uniformity, we now hear of few, perhaps because we have far more uniformity than we realize. We still hear from time to time of the importance of having the schools all working alike to facilitate transfer of children. There are many indications even here that the major upsetting effect of transferring from school to school does not come from failure to synchronize the work of various schools. Children must still go through the period of readjustment of which the falling into line with the children in the class work is perhaps a minor part.

However this may be, the drive for uniformity was a successful one and, like many other movements, tended to become an end in itself.

Connotations for Local School Administration

For this reason the principle of flexibility has important connotations for the operation of local school systems. A school district of any size has within it many communities or neighborhoods. The individual schools should be tied up with the ongoing life in these neighborhoods. They should be affecting this life for the better. Yet recently the principal of a large Middle Western city school, in speaking of the school and the community, was obviously referring to the entire city, not to her immediate community. Her attention was on the board of education downtown, not upon the potential leaders in her immediate community. She was *in* the school community, not *of* it, and the limiting effects of this point of view could be seen in the school, which in many respects was a splendid one.

What is said elsewhere, therefore, of state mandatory legislation and standardization needs to be said with even greater vigor of central regulation and tradition in local school systems. Our common practices must be examined in order that we may discover whether they come from problems which are common, or whether they came from a drive for uniformity 30 or 40 years ago.

As an antidote to the results of this uniformity drive, it is a splendid thing to think of the classrooms as schools, as they do in some New England communities. In such communities the principal of an eight-room building is the principal of eight schools. This is indeed a carry-over from the time when each teacher was something of a law unto

himself subject only to the visitations of the school committee. To the extent that this point of view can contribute to an alignment of each classroom with the community rather than with the school board, it has much to contribute to present-day operation of schools.

Reappraisal of Regulations and Traditions

This is not a plea for anarchy in school administration. It is a plea, rather, for reappraisal of regulations and traditions which make for uniformity so that those places where uniformity is no longer needed may be given proper focus, and that those places where uniformity seems to be needed may become the special care of administrative officers to see that individual, needed variations are encouraged.

Teachers have to be encouraged not to consider organization as sacrosanct. It is surprising to find how many highly intelligent teachers would never think of asking for the right to vary from a regulation or a traditional practice that they believe has the approval of the board of education and the administrative officers. This is not the least of the problems of the administrator who is seeking to operate a school system with due regard to the principle of flexibility. He will be surprised how many times a suggestion that a teacher perform a practice differently will elicit the response, "Oh, I didn't know we were allowed."

There is probably no place where there should be absolute uniformity unless perhaps in the matter of salary of employees. Certainly the practice of allotting specific stints of supplies in terms of number of pupils is one which greatly facilitates administration. But facility of administration should not be the determining criterion. Teachers should be urged to realize that a special case may be made of a class, or of a school in terms of local conditions, or of special ideas of teachers, for that matter, which seem to demand variation. Adaptations to the needs of a class or a community and to the skill of a teacher should be possible in the development of all aspects of the educational setting for the individual growth of all children. The teaching period may not be uniform in length except in those cases where the school has been placed in the lock step of departmentalized organization. Supplementary material should vary with the needs of the group and the skill of the teacher. The degree of pupil freedom is not a matter for central or for traditional determination. It should be determined through the use of community environment, trips, and excursions, changes in schedule, projects and activities, reference reading, creative art and music, dramatics, nature study, and the social sciences. Only when teachers are not capable of making a choice in terms of the

problems that they are meeting from day to day should we resort to the type of uniformity in central regulation which seemed so necessary and so acceptable in the schools of 1900.

FLEXIBILITY IN LEGAL STRUCTURE

As a principle flowing from this criterion we may say that state requirements should be sufficiently flexible to permit variations in carrying on all functions of the state program.

Mandatory Legislation

This is of particular significance in the light of the fact that there has been an increasing amount of state mandatory legislation setting specific requirements as to so many minutes a week or so many minutes a day to be used for a specific purpose. It may get in the way of important variations in practice. This whole tendency for increased mandatory legislation over the curriculum is to be deplored. From the interpretation of the courts, school districts have been given almost complete home rule with respect to the curriculum, within the limitations of state laws requiring that certain things be taught or denying the right to offer certain other things. Into this wide range of discretion has come the increasing practice, particularly of pressure groups, to bring about desired changes in the curriculum by mandatory legislation. Many of these are entirely harmless, but the tendency is to be deplored. A preferable policy is suggested in the Report of the Commission on the Legal Structure of Rhode Island Public Education. It reads:

> The legislature might well consider as a part of its code that mandatory curriculum legislation shall be looked upon with the gravest suspicion. If it wishes to emphasize the need for action along some particular line, it might better make it a matter of resolve memorializing the educational authorities and the people of the state to the effect that the legislature considers this a matter worthy of careful attention.[1]

Certificating Bodies

Perhaps even more restrictive than mandatory legislation are the standards set by certificating bodies, particularly as they apply to high schools. The difficulty with many of these standards, as with all regulatory legislation, is that they tend to be set in terms of the limitations of the poorer schools. In making them specific and objective they become limiting on the schools which need no central oversight.

[1] *Schools for Our Children*, Vol. II, p. 163, Report of the Commission on the Legal Structure of Rhode Island Public Education, Feb. 1942.

Such requirements as the number of minutes a day or the number of periods a week for teaching probably account for the long wallowing of the secondary school in the morass of departmentalized instruction. Similar standards on class size have doubtless had a great deal to do with the slowness of experimentation with large class units in the use of such media of communication as the sound film and radio transcription. These are examples of the restrictive effect of standardization on both adaptability and flexibility.

State Minimum Requirements

It follows from this principle that state minimum requirements as to curriculum should not be so restrictive as to hamper individual communities in performing this function in accordance with local conditions. Where legislation seems necessary, care should be taken to except the most likely experimental districts from the operation of such restrictions as so many minutes a day or the following of a given course of study. The tendency in recent years to make state courses of study suggestive rather than required is in keeping with this principle. Suggestions made by many state laws and improved upon in Cubberley's writings, particularly in his Osceola Code,[1] limiting restrictive legislation or standards in their application to the poorly organized districts are another approach to the same problem. Altogether too much of our legislation restricts the operation of all districts to safeguard the interests of education in a comparatively small number of unfavorably organized districts.

Where it seems necessary to set up specific procedures, care should be taken to analyze the conditions requiring these procedures and to limit the requirements to those school districts which cannot safely be trusted with the freedom to vary. The right to vary the educational program so as to fit the peculiar conditions existing in individual communities is one of the outstanding advantages claimed for local control of schools. Obviously it assumes that the local district has the personnel adequate to analyze the local needs and adjust the program to them.

Financial Demands

It seems reasonable to expect a lower grade of personnel to be able to make adjustments to local conditions in carrying out a given function than is required for the actual creative work in discovering new needs, for inventing ways and means of meeting them, or for dis-

[1] Cubberley, Elwood P., *The State and County Educational Reorganization*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918.

covering new ways of carrying out recognized functions. For this reason somewhat lower expenditure levels than those required for adaptability and somewhat lower personnel standards might well prove to be sufficient to justify allowing local variation. This provides a significant check on prudential legislation since such legislation seems to be required because of the lack of minimum requirements, financial and otherwise, for the effective operation of home rule. It is suggested in the adaptability chapter that, where home rule is not sufficiently well supported or organized, it may be necessary to have a considerably higher degree of central control than in those areas where organizational and financial conditions are favorable to the effective operation of home rule. This suggests that there is a broader zone below the critical level for adaptability where state regulation may well be less restrictive than is justified in the schools financed considerably below the strategic level for adaptability. On the other hand, it appears that once the financial demands of the adaptability principle are met, the demands of the flexibility principle will be more than met.

WHERE VARIATION IS NOT NEEDED

Variation should be permitted in all those functions likely to be influenced by different local conditions. Assuming that there are some activities for which we have the best answer and in the carrying out of which there seems to be no need for local variation, there would be no danger in a high degree of central standardization. In some of his writings the author has suggested that one of these areas is budgetary procedure. It seems to him that for each class of school districts the budgetary procedure might be the same.

From the standpoint of variability this is probably true, but before fixing the procedures we should raise the questions: "Are we certain that we have the last word on budgetary procedure; are we ready as yet to eliminate local experimentation (adaptability)"? So here again we find that the adaptability principle is more rigorous in its demands for freedom than the flexibility principle and should doubtless be the determining criterion.

There are many aspects of the educational program in which variation is not permitted today. Earlier in our history local training and local certification of teachers were quite common. We have gone to centralized certification and centralized training of teachers almost universally, but we do not tell communities that they may not have higher requirements for teachers, and we do not tell teachers that they must do just those things that they were taught to do in the ways in

which they were trained. Similarly, some states have centralized school-building insurance on the assumption that local variation and experimentation made possible by dealings with individual communities with private insurance companies are no longer of any vast importance. North Carolina has recently centralized the transportation of school children. Reports show that the job is done much more economically than before. Assuming that it is done as well, there probably would be no very strong arguments for local variation.

COMPLEXITY RELATED TO NEED FOR VARIATION

In recent years the question has frequently been asked: Since highway construction has been so successfully centralized, why not centralize schools? The answer is that highway construction is a comparatively simple problem. Scientific problems of variation for individual communities due to differences in climate or soil are not apt to be the kind of problems which can be adequately attacked by local communities. Education, on the contrary, while being a vastly complicated process, is of intimate concern to both the parent and local citizen. Every individual child is a potential variant from the expectancy of a central body deciding an educational program. While doubtless there are some aspects of the problem that cannot be met by a local staff, there are undoubtedly a wide range of aspects of the problem calling for local variations which an able staff is competent to make. The recognition of these needs for local variation as compared with the needs for local variation in highway construction, for example, will help to safeguard us against an unreasoned following of an over-simplified analogy.

SUMMARY

The flexibility criterion recognizes the desirability of carrying on a given function in ways particularly adapted to the needs in an individual community or to differences in individuals in a school system. Flexibility is invoked in appraising administrative structure and procedure only.

The larger the school system the more it tends to inherit the restrictive features of centralized control, which makes great use of the simplifying device of uniformity.

In local school systems there is need to reappraise the regulations and traditions that grew up in a period when great store was set by uniformity. We should always be suspicious of uniformity.

Flexibility is an important consideration in appraising state mandatory legislation, state department regulations, and requirements of certificating bodies.

The financial demands of flexibility are not as great as those of adaptability. Accordingly, in setting up state restrictions on communities below the adaptability level, consideration may well be given to allowing considerable flexibility to the school systems meeting the flexibility expenditure level but not having the level where rather complete freedom is requisite for the sake of adaptability.

In some areas, such, perhaps, as forms for use in the preparation of the budget, lack of flexibility may not be a handicap.

A complex enterprise such as schools has more need for flexibility than a relatively simple one such as highway development and construction. Conclusions with regard to centralization of educational control in a state-wide agency, drawn from advantages of centralization for such simple functions, are to be looked upon with suspicion.

Exercises

1. Flexibility is treated here in its relation to tempo. But it is also related to the serving of the other common-sense principles. List them in the order of their demand on flexibility.
2. Select one of the three that you have placed highest in the list and explain its interrelationships with flexibility.
3. Show how flexibility is related to psychological conditioners of educational purpose.
4. Describe the application of the flexibility principle in a specific instance.
5. Differentiate between adaptability and flexibility. Find examples where educational writers have used the term adaptability in other than the sense in which it has been developed in this book. Explain your basis and reasoning in selecting your example.
6. What factors would demand flexibility within your own school system or some system with which you are familiar?
7. Can you find examples of legal inhibitions of flexibility in your own situation or one with which you are familiar?
8. Can you suggest several fields, other than those mentioned in the text, where local flexibility may not be prudent?
9. Examine the administrative code for Green Willows (Appendix D) for provisions calculated to contribute to flexibility. Do you see any conflict in these provisions with the demands of purpose, humanitarian, or prudential principles? Could any of them be modified further to contribute to flexibility? If so, does the change result in less emphasis on any of the other considerations mentioned above?
10. Examine the School Code for the State of New Osceola (Appendix E) in the same manner.

Selected Readings

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CHAPTER XV

STABILITY

The word "stability" connotes the conservation of the heritage which the race has achieved; the protection of those phases of our inheritance that are considered of lasting value; the protection of those concerned.[1]

This concept has played an exceedingly important part in education designed to pass on the cultural heritage. While other purposes have come to the fore, this purpose still stands high, even though it has been reduced to more specific terms. That it still stands high in the public mind is attested by the fact that every public appeal to get back to the fundamentals, whether it be reading, writing, arithmetic, or Greek literature, is met with acclaim. There seems to be a rather wide opinion that stability so defined does not stand in high repute with modern educators. This is a misunderstanding probably arising from the fact that it has been so difficult to get any complementary concept of the work of the school into the public mind.

The term "stability" also connotes freedom from upsetting change within the system. In this sense it does not deny change. It favors, rather, evolution as opposed to revolution. As applied to education it recognizes the fact that the educational cycle is a generation; that we cannot change policies with every shift of the wind without having unhappy results in the sum total of the education of the group of persons now within the schools.

Our political system has many safeguards for stability. They take the form of providing cooling-off periods, through court review or through the requirement of approval by both legislative and executive bodies before a bill becomes a law. On the other hand, attempts to introduce other characteristics into our organization sometimes result in a weakening of stability. An example of this is the granting to local bodies the right to make decisions in educational matters. This allows for vast leeway for weighing the demands of the stability principle over against those of other principles. Always we have the task of balancing the comforting qualities of the old and familiar against the stimulating promises of the new. Always we have the task of main-

[1] This is related to the prudential principles of inertia and loyalties, treated in Chap. XII.

taining a newly established policy until it has a chance to take root. For these purposes we need a smooth-working, deliberate organization that can assess the old for what it is really worth and can assure the new a fair hearing and a favorable period of trial. Lethargy in an organization may resist the new and maintain the old indiscriminately. While this sometimes gets the credit, it is not really stability. Instead it is slow death. Stability must be conceived as dynamic, not static. It must be conceived as supplementing adaptability, not conflicting with it.

As with its complement, adaptability, stability reflects the state of mind of all concerned with the schools: administrative officers, teachers and other staff members, pupils, parents, school board, and public at large. If this state of mind is aggressive (tied up with the idea that what is wanted is the best school we know how to operate; freed from any bias against the old and tried; freed from any bias in favor of the new aspect; freed from the sort of kinesthetic urge to change just for the sake of change) the situation is wholesome for the operation of effective schools.

APPROACHES TO STABILITY

There is more to the achievement of this state of mind than statements of policy made by the board or superintendent. Even more so than the adaptability state of mind (with which it should be in close union), its roots are deep in the emotions. It has its intellectual aspects, however.

Time for Deliberate Change

The fact that a single year is not a growth cycle in the education of children strongly supports the position that changes in policy affecting the educational program should often be made to take place over a period of years.

An excellent example, and perhaps an extreme one, is that of changing from the semiannual promotion system to the annual promotion system. The semiannual device was introduced early in this century as a means for adapting the speed of going through school to differences in ability of students. When psychologists and philosophers blasted the faith in a single, mystical curriculum for all, the emphasis on hurrying up the bright and slowing down the dull was removed. Once this was removed the advantages in semiannual promotions largely disappeared. As a result there was a distinct trend back to annual promotions. Many school systems brought about the change by reclassifying children, promoting or demoting those in the spring

classes. All this disruption in the life of the children was brought about simply to make the change in a hurry. But why should there have to be such a hurry? There were doubtless some advantages to shifting back to annual promotions, yet the analysis of semiannual promotions will show that, except for such matters as convenience and sometimes economy, it makes little difference whether you have annual or semiannual promotions according to our present-day philosophy. In other words, semiannual promotions were once much better than annual promotions; now there is no particular difference either way. Why then all the hurry to make the change?[1]

The policy followed by some school systems of discontinuing the midyear entrance class would seem to be a far more defensible one. This step alone would result in the elimination of the semiannual promotions in a dozen years. The progress of children would not be disrupted. They would continue with the program they had begun. This is a case where there seems to be little or no sacrifice in taking a longer period.

There are other examples of change where sacrifice to stability may be adequately offset by positive results obtained in terms of other principles. Even in those cases, however, the change should come as a result of balanced judgment, and the advantages of stability should not be weighed too lightly. As an example, take a change in the system of instruction in the social studies. Of course, if we go to the trouble to introduce a markedly different system in the social studies, we believe, for the moment at least, that the new plan has tremendous advantages over the old. Of course we are very apt to be balancing the hoped-for best of the new plan against the known best and worst of the old. An attempt to judge the probabilities of achievement under the new plan, considering the fact that it is to be operated by human beings just as the old plan was, as opposed to the middle-of-the-road results of the old, may result in the introduction of the newer plan with a beginning group only. This is a rather difficult psychological task. All of us are acquainted with the sense of how terrible a child's old shoes look when he is in a shoe store trying on new ones. Failure to change throughout the school would, of course, deny those children who are already on one path the advantage of what we honestly consider a better plan. On the other hand, it would not subject these children to a disruption of the unfolding values of a plan already well begun. Unlike the case of the semiannual promotions, here is a case where the advantages of stability have to

[1] See LINDSEY, J. ARMOUR, *Annual and Semi-annual Promotions*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933.

be weighed against very definite values from change. An honest weighing of the two might lead to a sacrifice on the stability side rather than on the adaptability side.

There is no argument against such a decision intelligently made. The argument is not to sacrifice all the values to stability. It is, rather, to know what we are sacrificing in stability in order that our judgment will be an intelligent one.

Salvaging the Old

The difficulty of getting a mental comparison of the old shoes with the new shoes after they have been worn a few times militates against stability in other ways. Nearly always the old plan that has stood the test of years has distinct advantages. The improved plan, however, may be built up in a frame of reference that places little or no weight upon these advantages, or it may attain the old advantages in ways not readily recognized by the public. Stability demands that we assess honestly the advantages of the old; that we do not easily allow our frame of reference to shift; that we seek to build a frame of reference including clearly the values of the old as well as of the new.

This may be exemplified in the changing of marking systems. A rabid speech can easily be made against the absurdity of the old system of marking with percentages or even against the system of marking with letters. It can be shown that there cannot possibly be any reliable distinctions between 95 per cent and 97 per cent, or 78 per cent and 80 per cent. But in doing this the validity of the system of testing and marking used in coming to a decision on these percentages will be torn down. This likewise is an easy thing to do, but it is difficult to establish the validity of the devices that will be used by teachers to come to decisions of a more useful kind. Here we have frequently fallen into the error of comparing the worst of the old with the hoped-for best of the new, forgetting that the human factor is going to be present in both cases. A temperate weighing of both the old and the new may result in reports to parents that will give not only the detailed notes on growth in many facets of a child's life but will give also a rating on the system heretofore in use. Perhaps the arguments for this are even stronger from the prudential standpoint.

Unrecognized Purposes

Another aspect of this same problem is the failure to assess the unrecognized purposes an old practice has come to serve. It is just as true that practice often fails to recognize its own by-products. A story is told about the days immediately following the legalizing of

2 per cent beer in the last days of the prohibition era. It seems that in a certain section of the country all the stores ran out of chewing tobacco. Then, and not until then, was it recognized that in this particular community the rate of consumption of beer had a strong causal effect on the rate of consumption of chewing tobacco. When beer began to flow, the supply of chewing tobacco soon ran out.

A somewhat more elegant illustration is given by Wells in his *Men Like Gods*. He tells of a Utopia from which all insects had been abolished. The hero of the story who had been transplanted into this Utopia was a lover of swallows. He found no swallows there. Those who had worked out plans for eliminating the insects had made no substitute provision for the diet of the swallows.

The moral of the first story is that adequate foresight would have caused the storekeepers to lay in a larger supply of chewing tobacco. The moral of the second story is that the reformers should have provided for the swallows. That is, these are the morals for the stories when we are looking at the problem from the angle of stability. Applying these morals to school practices, the conclusion is that we should examine the old practices not only in terms of the frame of reference in which they may have been introduced or may be generally conceived, but also in terms of their generally unrecognized but still important by-products. Knowing what these by-products are, provisions can often be made for attaining them in different ways.

Probably there is more than just a public feeling in the belief that children coming from some of the more modern schools are not as considerate of others as were the children of the old-time schools. In some of the old-time schools the interest in teaching politeness had gone so far as to introduce an absurd degree of regimentation. You can still hear on entering classrooms with the principal the unison cry of small voices, "Good morning, Miss Jones," and it is quite certain that frequently the purpose for which this sort of practice was introduced was not understood. Eliminating it as a bad practice, without making reasonable provisions for the teaching of politeness, is hardly to be commended. It may be that most of the schools that have done away with the regimentation have taken advantage of the freer, more natural situations to teach a functional politeness far superior to that surface politeness that made all the children in the classroom look alike.

Perhaps a better example could be taken from the area of subject matter itself. A couple of decades ago considerable stress was placed upon the integrating effects of a common culture. This word "integration" has come to have other meanings, and the discussion of the

advantages of a common culture is given but little stress in present-day discussions. Here is one of the places where we might well look for loss in stability. If the criterion for the selection of subject matter is to be its functional usefulness in some aspect of life, elements in the curriculum placed there so that our people shall have a common universe of discourse would be dropped out. This seems to be the present tendency. It may be good.

We can say that the objections the schools receive from the public because of the dropping of elements of the curriculum that the public has come to expect as a part of the equipment of the educated person are due to the lack of exercise of prudence; to the failure to acquaint the public with the shift in the frame of reference. Since, however, we are looking at this problem from the angle of stability, we can raise the question of whether there are not important elements of the cultural heritage that are good simply because our culture considers them good. Perhaps it *is* important for all children to know that all Gaul was divided into three parts, and to know how to work square root, and to be able to recite a stanza or two of Tennyson's *Brook*. Certainly we must give these things consideration from the angle of prudence, and while we are discussing them from the angle of prudence we may well raise the question of stability.

These statements have been written with a great deal of hesitation. There is danger that they will be taken to magnify fears of change and to justify the maintenance of elements once in the program on bases which cannot be strictly rationalized. But they are not written for the comfort of the complacent. They are written to safeguard those who have the drive for providing better schools. Their intent is to say, "be aware," not "beware."

Perhaps it can all be summarized by saying that we need to have a more complete picture of what the old school did, not only in terms of its generally recognized effects. In appraising the old school most of us are content with an altogether too narrow and too easy portrayal of its values. No one who is interested in improvement rather than in the promotion of some new gadget can object to an attempt to make an honest appraisal of the old and to retain its values along with additions of the new. It is thus from more complete appraisals of the effects of the old that stability will be served without conflicting with adaptability.

Stability as an Objective in Teaching

A case might be made for utilizing the rich experience of the school to instill in children an understanding of this basic principle that plays

so important a part in the public's appraisal of the activities of all its institutions. In the past we have left this entirely to chance. In the public's application of this principle we find confusion between conservatism and stability—"the old and tried." It is as if the engineer, interested in making an automobile more comfortable or speedier, could be charged, as a result of these interests, with being opposed to, or lacking interest in, having a car that would hold the road.

The present writer sees no connotation of conservatism in the concept of stability. If the next generation is to be better balanced in its judgment than the present generation, it is seen that the school must assume some responsibility for guiding that generation during its growing period in habits of thinking about all sorts of problems with a better understood concept of the stability principle than they will get by their chance associations in and out of school. The school is quite as good a stage for developing stable thought and action as for developing democratic thought and action. As children evolve from the kindergarten through the high school, we have the opportunity to gauge and guide their growth in stability as well as in the other characteristics of a civilized person. The same could be said, of course, for all these "principles from the culture."

SETTING FOR STABILITY

There are certain discernible legal and policy-setting aspects that are related to "the stability state of mind" in one or more of the component groups influencing educational policy. They are discussed in Chap. XVIII in relation to other principles. Most of those discussed here deal with the local public mind. Tenure, however, is aimed at laying a good basis for the stability state of mind in the teaching staff, and the final topic, "stable budgets," is aimed largely at the legislative state of mind.

Financial Burdens

As the principle of local operation making for stability is local taxation, educational programs requiring local taxes unreasonably high or unreasonably low as compared with other communities are not to be entered upon.

Communities having high tax rates do not stand up as well against the rigors of financial depression periods as communities whose tax rate are near the average. The period of raising the tax rate is followed by a period of no expansion or even a period of retrenchment, resulting in a more or less gradual regression of the tax rate toward the mean.

Likewise, either programs or organization of districts that permit unusually low tax rates may not be expected to contribute to stability. If the communities are unusually wealthy, the fact that they can operate a good school with low taxes makes them a subject of criticism and provides grist in the mill of those who are seeking to reduce educational costs in general. Where the community is poor, low tax rates are necessarily associated with poor programs or with large amounts of state aid. Either one or the other, associated with relatively low tax rates, likewise becomes grist for the mill of those who oppose large public support for public education. In either case the low tax rate community is a threat to the stability of the entire state system.

Home Rule

The system of local operation and control of schools is claimed by some to contribute to stability. Such persons believe that when the decisions are made locally there is less tendency for sudden changes to be made. There is doubtless something in this argument. There may be a tendency for central officers to develop a logical pattern of action in terms of considerations that they can express in words, and considerations which cannot be readily verbalized may tend to be overlooked in such plans. When people can decide to vote locally whether or not they are going forward on a new program, they can vote in terms of their hunches as well as in terms of verbal arguments. Their hunches sometimes may be based upon considerations of vast importance not as yet isolated and verbalized. To the extent that these hunches are based upon observations that have escaped the notice of those developing the programs of action, decisions in terms of them may actually add to the soundness of the decision and thus to stability. To the extent that they are based upon error and bias, they detract from the reliability of the decisions made and make for stagnation rather than for stability.

Democratic Procedure and Stability

In general, it may be said that there seems to be some reason for believing that extending the scope of participation in the formation of decisions contributes to stability. This may be applied throughout the administration of schools. It calls for the type of administration discussed under the democracy criterion. A change in the educational program brought about by executive action may go on for some time before the public really understands the nature of the change. If it proves to be sound, all well and good. If, as it often happens, however, the change has failed to take into account elements that would have

been brought to the fore by a wider participation in making the decision, it may fail because of comparatively minor defects. The change itself thus lacks the stability which those supporting it would like to give. Broad participation in determining not only the advantages of a change but in assessing the degree to which it contributes to values accepted by the public adds to stability. Likewise, the assessment of net losses in terms of these values may result in changes in the program itself or in actually dropping the proposal for change, thus safeguarding those elements in the program that have long-time value and that are, perhaps, the most important considerations under the criterion of stability.

Shortcomings of Town Meetings

In an earlier chapter we have cited the town meeting as setting the standard for democratic control. The town meeting as a control mechanism has definite shortcomings from the point of view of stability. It is too readily subject to a change in community temperature. Since the educational program as it affects an individual child is a twelve-year proposition, it must be considered with more deliberateness than the annual budget. For this reason there is considerable to be said for board control in lieu of town-meeting control. It is true that board control has doubtless come in because of the unwieldiness of the town meeting when a large population is concerned. Regardless of its origin, there seems to be no question that as a device favoring stability the school board has much in its favor. It introduces the element of time in tempering decisions on policy; a school board may get out of touch with community desires; the community may shift its attitude and come into line with the school board's policy. Failing in this, the community itself may change its school board. This is a slow process, however, and provides the desirable cooling-off period.

School Board Elections

To assure deliberateness in changing a policy, it is essential that school boards be freed from the possibility of being easily overthrown. The device of long and overlapping terms provides the needed safeguards. A 7-man board with 7-year terms might require as much as four years of public pressure to change majority control and thus change a rooted policy. It is true that this is not an unmixed blessing viewed either from the standpoint of democracy or from the standpoint of adaptability. Such a period of waiting might be very irritating. It is generally considered, however, that the merits of stability in an

educational program are such as to justify sacrifices in terms of the other principles.

Fiscal Independence

The educational program is not a matter of a one-year cycle like the financial budget and should not be subject to sudden upsets. This fact justifies a type of financial control over education that will balance its long-time values against the periodic drives for financial retrenchment or expansion. Most aspects of the municipal budget have to do with matters serving either atypical persons, such as prisoners in jails or providing services of a general service nature as streets. In these matters ups and downs in financial support do not have such long-time implications on results achieved. One of the merits of the town-meeting type of control is that the people deciding on the budget can balance the long-time values against the short-time values. They can, if they see fit, retrench in one area and expand in another.

A case was noted in a Pennsylvania community where a policy of strong support for public education was being carried through at a time when a policy of retrenchment was in effect on street cleaning. The schoolhouses were as spick and span as a schoolhouse could be; cleaning of the streets was left to the accident of rainfall. Whether this was wise or not is not the question. The point is that the people of this community had decided to support their schools well at the cost of retrenchment on street cleaning. Such a decision could readily be made in a town meeting. If, however, the decision were left to a single board that had charge of all municipal matters and education as well, it would be difficult for the people in the election of the board to differentiate in their demands for retrenchment or strong support. This may be one of the reasons why in the development of boards to take the place of town meetings, the people in many states have provided for separate boards to care for municipal matters and educational matters. This has been supported as a contribution to both democracy and stability.

Tenure

The fact that the educational crop cycle is one of several years makes a strong argument for long-time tenure of teachers. The critical place that the teacher holds in the educational program and the increasingly important part that the teacher's understanding of his problem is taking make it essential that the teaching force have years of tenure rather than months. In the old-type school, where the teacher was a sort of automaton carrying out the specific orders of an

administrator, the rapid succession of teachers was not a great loss. There have always been teachers, however, of the gardener type. They were fewer, however, and a rapid succession of teachers gave some chance for each child to experience one of these teachers in his school life. In the earlier school such teachers were more or less of an accident, and they often lacked the techniques which made them really all-round good teachers. Today such teachers are becoming more commonplace. One could venture a guess that the adult of tomorrow will find it more difficult to put his finger on the one teacher who influenced him in the elementary and secondary schools.

Undoubtedly, permanent tenure of teachers is not an unmixed blessing. The peacefulness of permanent tenure may lull some teachers into lethargy rather than stimulate the good fruits of security. Empirical studies, however, support the position that many, if not most, of the deficiencies that come along with permanent tenure can be offset by a sympathetic and stimulating administration.

The argument for a considerable period of tenure applies to administrative officers as well. Here, however, the critical position the administrative officer holds makes the risks of permanent tenure too great. Children may be protected in one way or another from teachers who go stale on permanent tenure, and an active administration can anticipate and forestall such staleness. There is no such protection from a superintendent of schools. When a man in the chief administrative position goes stale, there is little hope for the school system except from dismissal. There are all too many institutions and school systems that are plodding along awaiting the demise of the chief administrative head. On the other hand, the same arguments that call for long tenure on the part of teachers call for a reasonable degree of tenure on the part of the administrative officer. The superintendent of schools should be able to look forward to a term of at least five years in which to establish his competency. There is need for changes in the legal structure of those states where a contract longer than one year is illegal.

Stable Budgets

Financial stability, one of the most obvious applications of the stability criterion, is the principle that states that there shall not be sudden ups and downs in the financial support of public education.

Those concerned with the structure of education and with the year-to-year financing of it in individual communities bear the brunt of the responsibility for maintaining an evenness in financial support that will be conducive to an evolving educational program. The

financial provisions should be such as to favor long-time planning of the educational program. So far as possible, marked changes arising out of financial crisis should be avoided. Finance should be the servant, not the master. By the same token, ambitious provisions demanding large increases in expenditure should not be entered upon as a result of the spurring of a temporary wave of prosperity such as often accompanies business or population expansion of a community.

New housing projects in a community sometimes result in a marked increase in values from one to five years ahead of increased school population. The wealth per pupil in this period may rise markedly, only to experience a rapid drop when the people move in and the babies grow to school age. Optimistic expansions made in the early years may be highly unstable.[1]

STABILITY AS A CRITERION

Various rules of action have flowed from this principle. The California Constitution, for example, requires that the legislature provide a rather liberal minimum amount for the education of each pupil and that the county shall provide a like amount. Many early state laws provided for a minimum local tax to be levied by school districts. Far-reaching provisions are found in many state laws requiring a minimum tax to be levied before the community participates in state aid. The New York law now provides that in case a school district fails to levy at least five mills it shall be denied a proportional share of the state aid it would otherwise be entitled to receive. While the state aid is computed on a tax rate lower than this, the district is not entitled to receive the entire state aid unless it actually levies five mills.

Obviously, there is vast latitude for variation in the amount raised by the localities themselves over and beyond such a minimum. Such provisions, therefore, do not actually provide stability. Stability and financial support depend upon the acceptance of the principle of stability by the local school districts themselves.

The provision that a school district may not bond itself without a vote of the people or beyond a set percentage of its assessed valuation may be partly justified in terms of the stability criterion, inasmuch as it keeps one generation from mortgaging disproportionately the tax-paying power of future generations. While this rule flows in part from the democracy criterion and in part from the prudential criterion, it at the same time contributes in some degree to stability.

Programs of school maintenance, which place in the budget each

[1] This affects the schools as viewed in terms of all the criteria.

year a reasonable amount for keeping school buildings in repair, and parallel programs for the provision of instructional materials, equipment, and library books, contribute to a stable financial and educational program. Similarly, insurance of school buildings, safeguarding the school system against unforeseen special expenditures, and the proper spacing of debt service payments are in accord with this principle.

SUMMARY

The concept of stability played an important part when education was considered chiefly as a means of passing on the cultural heritage. It still functions in this way in the mind of the public even though the profession has broken down this purpose into other terms. It probably accounts for the responsiveness of the public to any and all appeals to "get back to fundamentals."

Stability connotes freedom from upsetting change within the system. It does not oppose change. Rather, it counsels evolution as opposed to revolution.

The need for deliberate change flows from the fact that a given program of education is not a matter of a single year but of the educational life cycle of an individual. This fact makes it imperative to consider the good that may come to a group of children from continuing with an old system as compared with the good that may come from changing to a new system in the middle of the stream.

Stability demands that proposed changes be appraised in the old frame of reference as well as in the new. The new may underemphasize ends served by the old. Some of those served by the old may be unrecognized.

Stability plays such an important part in the thinking of the public and is so often applied uncritically that there seems to be particularly strong justification for making the clear understanding of its contributions and dangers known to young people in our schools.

Tax rates either unusually high or unusually low become subjects of attack that lead to instability in the educational program.

Home rule is supported by many as a contributor to stability.

Democratic procedure, by bringing out hidden or obscure implications in proposed changes, contributes to stability.

Town-meeting control lacks the stability of a well-chosen board of education.

Long and overlapping terms of school board members make for stability.

Fiscal independence of school boards, making them directly respon-

sible to the people, favors stability by giving the public an opportunity to express itself differently on the long-cycle matter of education from what it may wish to do on shorter-cycle matters such as most municipal policies.

Permanent tenure of teachers and reasonably long terms of office for school superintendents make for stability without undue encroachment on the demands of the other principles.

State finance practice should be such as to favor deliberate changes in the financial status of school districts.

State requirements for minimum expenditures or minimum tax rates, requirement that right to bond be made a matter for public vote, limiting of the bonding power in terms of the valuation of the district, orderly school-building maintenance programs, and provisions for various types of insurance in all but the very large school districts, all have their purpose in greater or less degree in the stability principle.

Exercises

1. Give examples of what appear to be stable conditions that are really the result of failure to be alert to demands of adaptability.

2. Does stability have relationship with other principles or conditioners comparable to those you have discovered for flexibility? If so, specify.

3. Expand and illustrate the idea that stability is a desired factor in phases of our culture other than education.

4. What traditional educational objectives should be retained in the building up of your "frame of reference"? What is the relationship of the principle of stability to the educational philosophy commonly referred to as "classicism"? Differentiate between "stability" and "conservatism."

5. Read the Gideonse pamphlet and one of the Hutchins references given in the Selected Readings, and prepare a defense of one of them as an acceptable statement of the implications of the stability principle applied in higher education.

6. In what phases of school administration does the stability principle weigh heavily?

7. Can you give examples from your experience of an overemphasis on stability? Underemphasis? Wise application?

8. Examine the administrative code for Green Willows (Appendix D) for provisions calculated to contribute to stability. Do you see any conflict in these provisions with the demands of any other principles or conditioners? Could any of them be modified further to contribute to stability? If so, does the change result in less emphasis on any of the other principles or conditioners.

9. Examine the School Code for the State of New Osceola (Appendix E) in the same manner.

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CURTI, MERLE: *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, Chap. IX, pp. 310–347, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

DEWEY, JOHN: *Experience and Nature*, Chap. II, pp. 40–77, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1929.

———: *The Quest for Certainty*, Chap. II, pp. 26–48, New York: Minton Balch and Company, 1929.

DOUGLASS, AUBREY A.: *The American School System*, rev. ed., Chap. III, pp. 80–122, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1940.

GIDEONSE, HARRY D.: *Higher Learning in a Democracy*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937. (With which do you agree as to the wise idea of stability, Gideonse or Hutchins?)

GREENE, THEODORE M., and others: *Liberal Education Re-examined*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943.

HUTCHINS, ROBERT M.: *Education and the Social Order*, Los Angeles: The Modern Forum, 1936.

———: *No Friendly Voice*, pp. 24–40, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936.

KILPATRICK, WILLIAM H.: *Remaking the Curriculum*, Chap. V, pp. 58–68, New York: Newson and Company, 1936.

MACIVER, R. M.: *Society*, Book II, pp. 327–388, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937.

OTTO, M. C.: *The Human Enterprise*, Chap. III, pp. 65–95, New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1940.

SPEARS, HAROLD: *Secondary Education in American Life*, New York: American Book Company, 1941.

PART III

Empirical Knowledge

CHAPTER XVI

RESEARCH, EXPERIENCE, AND FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Good common-sense judgment takes into account what is known about the things it works with. When a man reseeds his lawn he usually makes some provision to protect it against the tendency of postmen, paper boys, and playing children to take short cuts. This is taking empirical knowledge into account in coming to a common-sense judgment. Similarly, if he lives in the north, he will not seed his lawn in December; he will plant shady lawn seed under the trees; he will prepare the soil well; he will spray it with a gentle spray. Some of these things he has learned from his own observation. Others he has read in a book on lawn care or in the gardening column of the newspaper.

SOURCE OF UNITY

While there is an essential unity to educational objectives and to the various common-sense principles that makes it possible to move from one general statement to a dozen or to a thousand, or in the reverse order, there is no such working unity to the empirical evidence that has been collected on American education in the past 40 years. Doctors' dissertations, superintendents' reports, surveys, yearbooks, major research studies represent the expenditure of many millions on appraisal. These studies gain a unity, however, from the operating educational mechanism, just as all the varied parts of a car fit into a unified whole that responds to purposes of the driver quite unpredictable from the parts of the mechanism. To put it another way, empirical knowledge is like the land, and the forests, and the game that can be bent to the purpose of the pioneer to achieve food, clothing, and shelter for his family. They are potential wealth for the wise user.

A half century ago the school administrator had little to draw upon other than the observations of himself or his immediate colleagues. Today there is so much written that it would take the administrator a lifetime to read it, and if he were to stop to assemble it from its original sources he would hardly get his work done.

PROFESSIONAL LIBRARY

Luckily, there are those who are busily engaged in sifting and organizing these materials so that any school system can have a professional

library of wide and rich range with a comparatively small expenditure of money. The *Encyclopedia of Educational Research,* the yearbooks of the various educational organizations, the *Quarterly Review of Research* of the Educational Research Association, reports of the national surveys—these books and documents will give a splendid start at assembling the empirical evidence that has been collected on the effectiveness of various practices. Letters to the major contributors referred to in these treatments will usually yield an up-to-date bibliography on the particular problem at hand. A few dollars will bring the additional books and documents to make possible a completion of the checkup.

With such materials available, there is little excuse for embarking on new practices without the benefit of the available empirical evidence. They will supply materials of value to the personnel concerned with the change and to interested members of the public. A professional library growing in this manner will be truly functional. With these materials at hand, the administrator can get on with his job of making common-sense judgments with a minimum of delay. A listing of books, periodicals, and guides that will make a good beginning of a ready reference library on empirical knowledge in educational administration appears as Appendix C. In it are included materials on the other extensive fields covered in various chapters. These too are essential to the exercise of good common-sense judgment in the field of school administration.

RULES FOR INTERPRETING EVIDENCE

In dealing with the mass of empirical evidence in any area, it is well to remember that, in school administration as in military tactics, the applicability of evidence "depends on the terrain." Empirical evidence cannot be taken as universal truth in a field where there is such a multitude of uncontrolled factors. There are certain tests, however, that will be helpful in the task of determining the applicability of evidence to a given situation.

Reasoning from Analogy

Applying research evidence is reasoning from analogy. The assumption is that the controlling conditions under which the evidence was obtained are sufficiently identical with those to which it is to be applied that the same results would be obtained if the immediate situation had been the setting for the research. The validity of this assumption is always worthy of examination. It demands going into the characteristics of the situation. It demands also a consideration of the varia-

bility figures given (standard deviation). They show whether or not a measure, an average, for example, is closely representative of the sample or whether it is just a sort of middle figure in a widely scattered array of measures. It also demands a consideration of reliability measures. If the standard error (reliability) of the measure is large it means that either the number of cases on which it is based is small or that the measures themselves covered a wide range so that the average was not closely representative of all of them. It may mean that both conditions obtain. It shows the range within which the measure, an average, for example, is likely to be found in another situation. For example, 25 ± 5 means that in a different situation the chances are 50-50 that the average will be found between 20 and 30 and 50-50 that the average will be found to be less than 20 or more than 30. If the figures have any significance in the situation at hand, some estimate can readily be made as to the significance to local policy of the figures in the likely range.

In applying such materials to a problem at hand, it is of the utmost importance to hold in mind that empirical evidence is gathered in terms of certain hypotheses expressed or assumed.

Appraisal does not rise any higher than the purposes in terms of which it is made, any more than water will rise higher than its source. Take, for example, the evidence on class size. Most of the studies were made at a time when the conceptual design for American education had not yet emerged into that which most of us accept as valid today. It is not enough to find that no significant differences in average subject-matter mastery were found between certain classes of different sizes. It is important to know just how the results were measured and to set these measures up against the objectives to which small classes as a device may possibly contribute. The earlier studies measured results in terms of subject matter solely. They used class averages. Yet we would expect class size to affect the treatment of individuals, and vast differences could occur in the treatment of individuals without affecting the class average significantly. Small classes should make it possible for a teacher to discover important things about his pupils and should urge him to promote inventions to meet their individual needs. Guidance of the utmost importance might come from such increased understanding without affecting the score on arithmetic or reading. Furthermore, effective class size probably varies for different purposes. It is conceivable that some matters could be dealt with in classes of a hundred while others require a tutorial situation. The conclusion we come to is that the empirical evidence on class size settles the question of class size only within the limitations of the objectives and assump-

tions that obtained in the studies. We must have in mind always the question, "Class size for what?"

Empirical evidence often deals with a device subordinate to another device. Where this is true it is essential that we look back to the purposes of the major device. As an example, a couple of decades ago there were many studies made of the effect of homogeneous grouping. Now so long as homogeneous grouping was considered as a device for teaching a given mass of subject matter to all children, a test showing the achievement in such subject matter to be better under homogeneous grouping would fortify the conclusion that the device was a good one. If, however, we do not believe in the sanctity of a defined set of subject matter for all as an educational device, such findings as the above give no support to homogeneous grouping as a device.

Age of Study Not a Criterion

The age of the study is not the deciding point, however. There are studies made 40 years ago set in terms of objectives still held as valid and therefore applicable to present-day needs. There are others carried out in recent years which, consciously or unconsciously, accepted objectives which you may not accept as valid. The present validity of the objectives in which the studies had their setting is the key.

Completeness of Necessary Conditions

Another consideration must be ever-present in both the application and assessment of research findings. It rises from the fact that factors other than those mentioned in the research may be essential for results. Lack of such factors may have resulted in a negative answer in the research, or lack of those factors in the present situation may keep the same devices proved effective by the research from operating positively in the present situation. For example, there is considerable theoretical argument for having some married women on a staff or more men teachers than we customarily find in high schools. The Mort-Cornell study of Pennsylvania[1] showed that in such a situation neither of these factors showed any marked relationship to adaptability. Was this conclusive? Probably so, for the average American community. But when we analyze just how these characteristics of a staff are expected to contribute, it is clear that it is in the "growth" phases of the educational process rather than in the imparting of skills and knowledge from textbooks. It seems reasonable to assume, there-

[1] Mort, Paul R., and Francis G. Cornell, *American Schools in Transition*, p. 465, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941.

fore, that the negative results may have been due to the limited character of the educational program offered in the Pennsylvania schools; that they were due to a lack of other conditions necessary for the functioning of these factors. Under such circumstances, it is reasonable to reject the results as possibly inapplicable to more favored schools. Again, suppose the study had been based on schools in the top 20 per cent bracket of expenditure of the nation and had shown a favorable relationship. In this case, it would be reasonable to accept them only tentatively for application to schools of average expenditure pending a test of results in such schools.

Expenditure is one of those inclusive factors so closely related to results that it seems to be wise always to examine results obtained in schools on one expenditure level from this point of view before accepting them for application to schools on a markedly lower or higher expenditure level. The same would apply also for character of community. The possible concomitant factors should be considered to determine the likelihood of disturbing elements, and a judgment reached accordingly. Application to a different type of community should be taken with more searching plans for checking results locally than seems to be indicated if the communities on which the research is based are of a similar expenditure level and character.[1]

Test of Basic Principles

Finally, it cannot be assumed that the researcher has had all the pertinent considerations in mind. The best test of the scope of the applicabilty of research findings is the potential user's own analysis of his problem in terms of the four series of principles that are the subjects of the preceding chapters. This usually leaves him considerable uncovered territory in which he must rely on common-sense judgment. For example, books on public administration of the last two decades give short shrift to both the humanitarian and tempo principles. Yet they are highly useful in assessing the demands of some of the prudential principles, particularly simplicity and economy. Many educational books, on the other hand, limit themselves to purposes and the humanitarian principles. All such treatments are highly useful if the administrator brings the other principles into play to achieve a better balanced judgment.

As an example, a survey of studies that will gather all the known demands of prudence on the question of fiscal independence will not

[1] See Chap. XIII. An excellent treatment of the principle involved here appears in Clarence Newell, *Class Size and Adaptability*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943.

provide sufficient evidence on which to make a decision as to policy, for sound decision demands more than prudence. Before adequate evidence is available, fiscal independence as a device must be appraised in terms of the purposes to be served and in terms of the demands of the humanitarian and tempo principles also.

With these instruments the practitioner can assess empirical evidence and supplement it in terms of his own hunches in those areas it does not cover. His decision is not, except by accident, defensible outside the range of criteria that he, consciously or unconsciously, takes into account in making his appraisal as a basis for action.

AVAILABLE ANALYSES NOT ADEQUATE

In general, blind acceptance of research findings for universal application results in basing judgment on grounds only less weak than pure, unadulterated hunch. Some of the summaries of research, such as the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, give a great deal of help in the analysis of empirical evidence in terms of its general applicability by pointing out some of the less apparent pitfalls. But even these analyses leave considerable additional work to be done by the conscientious user.

SUMMARY

Good common-sense judgment takes account of what is known about the things it works with.

The working unity of empirical evidence comes from the school system in operation; empirical evidence has no internally consistent logic of its own.

The administrator is forced to make use of various guides to the great masses of empirical knowledge reported in print, such as those presented in Appendix C.

Empirical knowledge is not universal truth. Its applicability depends upon the degree of identity of factors in the situation from which it was gathered and the situation to which it is proposed to apply it.

The statistical form in which results are reported gives a clue to the degree of identity. The variability of the measure used tells the degree to which the data a measure is based on were widely scattered or relatively homogeneous. Similarly, the reliability of the measure, which takes into account the measure of variability and the size of the sample (if the statistics are based on a number of communities) gives a clue to the probabilities that the measure is characteristic of a typical situation.

Care should be taken to discover whether the purposes in terms of which the study was made are acceptable in your situation. Studies made several years ago should be examined carefully from this standpoint. But the age of the study is no sure guide. A study made 40 years ago may be based on purposes still acceptable while one made recently may prove quite unacceptable in this respect.

Some factors important in the operation of a good school may not be effective in the absence of other critical factors. It is a good rule to examine evidence collected in communities of markedly different expenditure level or markedly different community type for their applicability to your situation. In such instances particular care should be taken to provide for testing of results in your situation.

It cannot be assumed that the researcher has taken all pertinent criteria into account. The results should be tested in terms of all the basic principles dealt with in this book. Otherwise you may be accepting results based on a narrow application of one group of principles, such as the prudential group or the humanitarian group. Such results should be taken for what they are worth but for no more.

There appears to be no way in which the administrator can escape the necessity of appraising empirical evidence. Even the best appraisals in terms of general applicability leave much to be done by the conscientious user.

Exercises

1. Read a research report of a subject in which you are interested and appraise its meaning to you by use of the various clues for reading that this chapter provides.
2. Get a speaking acquaintance with a diverse sampling of the references in the "Superintendent's Library" appearing in Appendix C.
3. Get a speaking acquaintance with the books on the gathering and use of empirical evidence given under A of the Selected Readings below.
4. Summarize the tests to be applied in interpreting and utilizing items of empirical evidence. Divide them into philosophical and statistical categories.
5. With which of the common-sense principles developed in the preceding chapters does the test of empirical information have the greatest interaction?
6. Can statistical evidence alone establish a cause-result relationship?
7. What distinction is there between reliability and validity? What is the pertinence of information about the sampling process used in a study? The author's hypothesis? The date of the study?
8. Why must the administrator have a thorough general knowledge of his own school and community before he can utilize empirical data?
9. The books listed under B in the Selected Readings below are no substitute for a course in statistical method. If the student has had some formal training in statistics he may wish to employ the Cooke, Garrett, or Walker books to review concepts and methods. If the student has had no formal statistical training he may find value in the Elderton book in clarifying concepts and meanings of statistical terms.

Selected Readings

A. The Gathering and Use of Empirical Evidence:

ABELSON, HAROLD H.: *The Art of Educational Research*, Yonkers, N.Y.: World Book Company, 1933.

ALEXANDER, CARTER: *Educational Research*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927.

———: *How to Locate Educational Information and Data*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935.

American Council on Education, *Educational Research*, No. 10, Vol. III, Series I of Studies, Chap. I, pp. 1–19, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1939.

American Educational Research Association and Department of Classroom Teachers, National Education Association, *The Implications of Research for the Classroom Teacher*, Chaps. I–VI, pp. 15–98, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1939.

American Educational Research Association, National Education Association, *The Place of Research in Educational Reconstruction*, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1936.

BARR, A. S., and others: *A Symposium on the Classification of Educational Research*, Bloomington, Ill.: Reprinted from May and June numbers of the Journal of Educational Research, 1931.

BROWN, ZAIDIE: *The Library Key*, 6th ed., rev., New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1945.

FLEXNER, JENNIE M.: *Making Books Work*, New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1943.

GOOD, CARTER V.: *How to Do Research in Education*, Baltimore, Md.: Warwick and York, Inc., 1928.

———: A. S. BARR, and DOUGLAS E. SCATES: *The Methodology of Educational Research*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1938.

MONROE, WALTER S., and MAX D. ENGELHART: *The Scientific Study of Educational Problems*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936.

RUSK, ROBERT R.: Research in Education, London: University of London Press, 1932.

WHIPPLE, GUY M., Editor: *The Scientific Movement in Education*, Thirty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1938.

WHITNEY, FREDERICK L.: *The Elements of Research*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942.

B. Elementary Statistical Method:

COOKE, DENNIS H.: *Minimum Essentials of Statistics*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936.

ELDERTON, W. PALIN, and ETHEL M. ELDERTON: *Primer of Statistics*, London: Adam and Charles Block, 1914.

GARRETT, HENRY E.: *Statistics in Psychology and Education*, New York: Longmans Green and Company, 1937.

WALKER, HELEN M.: *Elementary Statistical Methods*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1943.

PART IV

Balanced Judgment and Legal Concepts Having Their Roots in the Common-sense Principles

CHAPTER XVII

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF BALANCED JUDGMENT IN THE WORK OF ADMINISTRATORS

We now return to our starting point—balanced judgment—with, it is to be hoped, a better understanding of what is to enter into it.

Tocqueville, the distinguished French observer and commentator on American life and democracy, was obsessed to a considerable degree with the principle of equality as a mainspring of human action, especially upon the institutional level. Throughout his two remarkable volumes on *Democracy in America,* equality is a dominant note. Seldom does one read a page without observing a reference to it. This, of course, is not particularly strange if we recall the time of his birth; the experiences of France in the period from 1790 to 1815; and the time when this masterpiece came from his pen. Many of his observations have not been verified in the light of subsequent history, but much that he said is stamped with a penetrating insight into American life—social, economic, and political.

RESTATEMENT OF BALANCED JUDGMENT

Although he was keenly sensitive to equality, Tocqueville recognized the potency of other forces and principles also. He said:

> I must at once warn the reader against an error which would be prejudicial to me. When he finds that I attribute so many different consequences to the principle of equality, he may thence infer that I consider that principle to be the sole cause of all that takes place in the present age: but this would be to impute to me a very narrow view. A multitude of opinions, feelings, and propensities are now in existence, which owe their origin to circumstances unconnected with or even contrary to the principle of equality.[1]

It is not particularly strange that anyone who has a profound regard for mankind should be engrossed with the concept of equality. Here is a principle in human affairs that springs from the depths of a generous heart. It is emotionalized through and through, and it is intimately associated with broad, human sympathy and helpfulness. It seeks as its reward only that happiness that comes from defending the

[1] TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS DE, *Democracy in America,* Preface to Vol. 2, p. xi, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1945.

unfortunate and raising the downtrodden. But, as Tocqueville observed, other principles have their role to play, and the administrator needs to remind himself again and again that his problem is not to deny their presence as partial determiners of far-reaching policy but rather to harmonize them. The same holds for the evidences drawn from the literature of education and related fields. But it is well to remember that these evidences from the contributing disciplines must be subjected in turn to the systems of principles discussed in this volume if we are to avoid overlooking or overemphasizing them.

Taken together, the principles of purpose and common sense and the empirical evidences form an "alliance of science and politics."

Most administrative problems must be settled in terms of a balance of the demands of various principles.[1] Only occasionally can a problem be solved in terms of a single basic principle. It is for this reason that when a single principle is carried to its logical conclusion the result is often absurd. Judgment must be in terms of a resolution of forces, not in terms of a single force. This should not be confused with compromise. The person who seeks to solve all problems in terms of a single principle is being continually forced into a situation where he must compromise. He can see clearly where his favorite principle, if left alone, would lead him, but he finds himself continuously checked by conflicting demands. The person who sees judgment as a resolution of forces does not often experience the frustration of compromise. For him it is not compromise; it is balanced judgment.

Educational administration must move from day to day in terms of the best knowledge and best thinking available. The ground may be

[1] This is now news, of course. The whole progress in the field of administration in the past few decades has been due to the problem approach in terms of a more or less broad and internally consistent system of principles deduced from experience and from the observations of such early seers in the administrative field as Cubberley and Strayer. Students approaching problems were urged to draw up principles—to draw them out of the professional atmosphere, as it were. They were judged as to their completeness and consistency by men of presumably greater experience. Together they formed a conceptual background in terms of which the facts pertinent to the problems were drawn by historical, comparative, or statistical methods. Often, important series of considerations were overlooked in this process. It is hoped that the principles drawn together in this book will serve as a codification of the systems of principles that are likely to be involved in the solution of any administrative problem or in the setting up of a consistent treatment of an administrative subject, whether it be the process of financial accounting, the administration of supplies, the planning of school buildings, the employment of teachers, the development of courses of study, or plans for pupil guidance. The test of whether this "code" has the merits of breadth and internal consistency will be its usefulness in day-to-day school administration, in the setting up of administrative procedures, and in administrative research.

laid today for the gathering of empirical evidence that will be available for next year, but the decisions that have to be made today must be made in terms of what is now available.

POWER CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Educational administration may be defined as, in large part: the influencing of one group of human beings, the pupils, to grow toward defined objectives; utilizing a second group of human beings, the teachers, as agents; and operating in a setting of a third group of human beings, the public, variously concerned both with objectives and with means used to achieve them. The key to the mechanism of educational administration is chiefly the allocation of power. This allocation of power is determined necessarily not only by the objectives sought but also by the outlook, ability, interest, etc., of the three human groups concerned.

Expressed in terms of the key elements, the exercise and allocation of power, administration may be broken down as follows:

1. Operating the mechanism:
   a. Application, usually to individuals or groups of individuals, of hard and fast laws, rules, or details of formal procedure.
   b. Application of laws, rules, or details of procedure that leave considerable leeway for interpretation.
   c. Meeting situations more or less novel in areas that have not been formalized under laws, rules, or approved procedure and for which the administrator exercises final authority "necessarily implied to enable him to carry out the powers expressly granted."
2. Servicing the mechanism:
   a. Keeping the exercise of authority within the defined channels.
   b. Subjecting the allocation of powers under 1 above to continuous appraisal.

In the above, 1*a* and 2*a* are purely prudential. When the procedure was established it froze the operation of the other principles for better or for worse. In exercising discretion under 1*b* and 1*c* common sense comes into play; and in making judgments falling under 2*b*, all come into play with large emphasis on political democracy. The better the balanced judgment is in the actual operation, the better the results, but any one error is of limited application. In 2*b* an error of judgment will affect a myriad of decisions.

In other words, common-sense judgment comes into play in the free decisions made in administration and in the establishment, servicing, and modification of the operational mechanism.

It should be held in mind that there is more to common-sense judgment than the weighing of the various elements in the psychology of the culture. Common sense, as we have seen, deals with both human

beings and THINGS (See Chap. VI). THINGS is to be interpreted to include combinations of factors that may in a sense precondition an entire community as to its educational level, or an entire staff in which there is a preponderance of teachers who grew up in the community, and thus influence the tempo of change; to include scientific or other empirical evidence as to what is likely to happen when a given thing is done; to include the more or less accidental legal restrictions under which the school must operate, whatever may be the predilections of staff or community; and to include the educational objectives that may be shared as driving beliefs and purposes by only a relatively few within the profession and, perhaps, by an even smaller proportion of the general public.

VARIETY OF PRINCIPLES IN OPERATION

Perhaps the most useful suggestion as to how to achieve balanced judgment is to seize each situation demanding it as an opportunity to exercise resourcefulness in finding applications of these various principles.

Some administrative problems, such as the development of a state aid system, district reorganization, or the preparation of a budget, draw heavily on many principles. In such complex areas practice is usually haphazard until such time as a conceptual design providing a balance of the pertinent principles has been developed. In less complex functions two or three principles may largely determine the pattern. In analyzing the simplest of functions, in addition to the purpose principles, one or more of the humanitarian principles, one or more of the prudential principles, and one or more of the tempo principles are likely to be pertinent, even though the function may be designed largely to increase justice of operation, to simplify an operation, or to increase stability of the program.

The illustrations chosen to exemplify the principles given in the preceding chapters usually are operational plans or structural features originally stemming from a consciousness of need in the area of the principle under consideration, such as salary schedules to serve justice. In some instances, however, there are examples where, in the adaptation of a given procedure or structural feature to some other principle, the principle from which it originally sprang has been grossly neglected. An example is the discussion of budget hearings under democracy in spite of the fact that their origin was doubtless prudential.

The recurrence of certain operational or structural functions used as illustrations under different principles shows the complexity of the theoretical setting in which they stand. Examples are *Board Rules*

and Regulations, discussed under Democracy (Chap. VII); Justice (Chap. IX); Prudence, both Chaps. XI and XII; and Adaptability (Chap. XIII); *Budgets,* discussed under Democracy (both Chaps. VII and VIII); Prudence (Chap. XI); Flexibility (Chap. XIV); and Stability (Chap. XV); *Line and Staff Organization,* discussed under Democracy (Chap. VII); Justice (Chap. IX); and Flexibility (Chap. XIV); *Fiscal Independence,* discussed under Prudence (Chap. XII) and Stability (Chap. XV); *Public Relations,* discussed under Purpose (both Chaps. II and IV); Democracy (both Chaps. VII and VIII); and Prudence (Chap. XII); *Tax Leeway,* discussed under Purpose (Chap. IV); Adaptability (Chap. XIII); and Stability (Chap. XV); and *Financial Level,* discussed under Justice (Chap. IX); Adaptability (Chap. XIII); and Flexibility (Chap. XIV).

But these treatments, even when taken together, only exemplify the scope of the problems; only two of these were referred to in the treatment of adaptability and one in the treatment of purpose; yet both principles make searching demands on every one of them. Clearly, in analyzing a given administrative device, operational plan, or structural feature, it is desirable to examine it in the light of each of the principles.

In the discussion that follows a few examples of such analysis are given and some of the pitfalls pointed out. The exercises at the end of the chapter invite the reader to use these tools of analysis on other administrative problems. Some of these are touched on from one or more special angles in other chapters. Others are novel problems so far as the treatment in this volume is concerned.

BALANCED JUDGMENT IN CONCEPTUAL DESIGNS FOR INTRICATE PROBLEMS[1]

The appraisal of any function is made in terms of some theory, expressed or unexpressed. Presumably this theory is the organization of the known demands of the various principles and empirical evidence in terms of what the function should achieve or what it may possibly interfere with. Frequently it is illuminated by the history of the evolution of the functions in a particular school system, in the state or in the nation. Sometimes such illumination of the application of the various principles calls attention to aspects that might otherwise be overlooked.

A well-written thesis often begins with a chapter that provides a synthesis of the author's conception of the various principles placed

[1] Two examples are given here. The chapters that follow this may also be classed as examples.

in a setting of historical and comparative information. Such a conception of the problem is doubtless in the mind of an effective administrator when he approaches the appraisal of an administrative function. He may depend on his own readily available knowledge and habit of looking at a subject from all sides, or he may make the background the subject of special study so as to be more certain that he is not overlooking important aspects. If he does the latter he will be interested in noting the various issues raised and in seeking in the culture the explanation for modifications made in the historical evolution. Also, he will be interested in noting in present practice and in practices elsewhere the relative emphasis given the various principles as well as the devices that have been developed for carrying on the function.

Either appraisal of an old function or of the plans for a new one will hardly be more adequate than the conceptual design or theory from which it flows consciously or otherwise.

State Aid

What we commonly refer to as equality of opportunity in the treatment of school finance is a composite frame of reference or conceptual design drawing on the principles of purpose, equality of opportunity, justice, prudence (simplicity, checks and balances), adaptability, flexibility, and stability.

Over a long period of our history those interested in carrying out the principle of equality of opportunity (as defined in Chap. X) in state school systems sought to achieve it through the enactment of mandatory laws. This failed because the spirit of mandatory laws was not met in many districts either for lack of understanding or of financial ability. It was only when Strayer and Haig meshed together the demands of justice and equality of opportunity that we began to make great headway in equalizing educational opportunity. Their statement of the principle of "equalization of educational opportunity and of school support" was not a compromise. On the contrary, it was an application of balanced judgment. They accompanied their statement with the demands for another principle. They said that this was not to be interpreted to deny the community the right to spend more than the minimum. In doing this they were recognizing the principle of adaptability.

They were not so successful, however, in dealing with the apparent conflict between the equality principle, as they defined it, and the so-called principle of reward for effort. They saw no way of combining these two as objectives without diluting justice. Studies that followed have shown that reward for effort is a device for serving the

adaptability principle and when used within reasonable bounds is not destructive of justice. The difficulty current at the time of Strayer and Haig's study was the acceptance of reward for effort as a principle rather than as one device for carrying out a basic principle. Once it was discovered which was the principle and which the device, the road for serving the basic principle became clear.

The shift in the conceptual design of state school support from the time of the Educational Finance Inquiry (1923) to the present time is the result of the identification of principles, which have been presented in earlier chapters of this report, and their use in correcting shortcomings arising from a too limited range of principles. In the more recent proposals will be found a more conscious use of provisions to iron out the ups and downs of state support due to sudden changes in school attendance, thus contributing to stability. They include, also, provisions seeking to delay change in state aid until communities have had an opportunity to adjust their programs by orderly processes. These later plans have also gained from sharper definition of equality that places more emphasis on what is to be considered normal support. One of the advantages of clarifying the principles is that it is now possible to verbalize and thus bring to light concepts that formerly either went unnoticed or manifested themselves only through negative reactions. Something was wrong but no one had a respectable word for it.

Size of School Districts

The following example of analyzing a specific problem in terms of these principles, somewhat differently organized, appears in the report of the Commission on the Legal Structure of Rhode Island Public Education.

The question that arises then is, how can we maintain the advantage of home rule in a comparatively small district without losing the advantages that arise from a large district organization? As we noted earlier, the problem calls for answers involving four major provisions:

1. The provision of secondary education.
2. The provision of vocational education.
3. The provision of services for the understanding of growing children and youth and for the development of educational settings for their growth.
4. The provision of professional leadership continuously to help the public understand the problems of education so as to make home rule authentic.

It will be helpful to consider the size of district that appears most favorably to serve each of the operational principles. The size of district that appears to be most favorable for meeting the requirements of each of these ten principles is noted opposite the principle as listed in the tabulation that follows.

Operational Principle	*Favorable District Size*
1. Democracy of control[1]	Smallest possible.
2. Democracy of operation	Large enough to provide strong professional leadership for the teaching staff at reasonable per pupil cost.
3. Adaptability	Large enough to provide strong professional leadership for the public and teaching staff at reasonable per pupil cost, and large enough to provide a population of diverse interests and outlooks.
4. Variability (Flexibility)	Large enough to provide at reasonable per pupil cost professional services which will reveal need for variation.
5. Prudence[2]	Small districts favor the public watchdog type of oversight; large districts favor economy in buying and management. Weight of evidence in favor of large districts.
6. Equality	Large enough not to interfere with providing all children the opportunities they need.
7. Stability	Large enough to provide strong professional leadership for the public and teaching staff at reasonable per pupil cost. Small enough to keep decisions close to the people.
8. Justice to employees	Large enough to make selection and assignment a systematic, professional problem.
9. Simplicity	Favored somewhat by smallness.
10. Responsibility[3]	Large enough to provide, at reasonable per pupil cost, an administrative staff competent to carry responsibility.

The demands for greater size are made by equality, variability, responsibility, and possibly prudence. Smaller districts would serve other demands, but the typical district in Rhode Island is too small to serve any principle other than democratic control and possibly prudential management of the public watchdog type. Little sacrifice in democracy or prudence would be involved in districts large enough to serve any but certain of the demands of the equality and justice principles.

To care for the equality principle under home rule would require districts large enough to provide vocational education. Care for the handicapped demands districts of somewhat similar size. Probably the demands could not be met by having more than a half-dozen districts in the state. This strongly suggests the transfer of the vocational education function to central operation and the instituting of central operation for all but the most common types of handicapped children.

With the "large size" demand of the equality principle cared for, the

[1] Equivalent to political democracy as used in this book.

[2] This is prudence in general. In this list simplicity and responsibility (9 and 10) are separately listed.

[3] This is not the definitive use recommended in this book.

demands of the justice, variability, and prudence principles may be considered. The principle of justice to employees may possibly be cared for by greater central participation in the employment of personnel, together with a tenure system.

Much that is done to serve the variability and prudence principles could be done on a cooperative basis, particularly in a state as small as Rhode Island. A pattern was suggested by the workshop operated by the state department of education in the summer of 1941. Presumably a continuous service could be set up in such fields as child study and guidance, curriculum development, and business management including purchasing. The districts could be assessed their proportional part of the cost. The supervision could be under a board selected from the school committees. An executive officer could have the rank of Assistant Director of Education, and specialists could be employed to work under such a board. Their office would be a continuous workshop for teachers, principals, and superintendents. Many of the advantages of a single large district could thus be obtained without the sacrifice of home rule.

With these matters disposed of, we now fall back once more on the demands of the equality principle. It demands school districts at least as large as the districts now served by high schools. Some of these are clearly too small. There should probably be no more than a dozen high-school districts in the state. Such districts would be large enough to meet the demands of the other principles as we see them today. They would not do great violence to the democratic-control principle. The control would be more democratic for high schools, less for elementary schools.

With some violation of the principles of responsibility, variability, adaptability, prudence, and simplicity, the situation with respect to democratic control could be served by adopting the system of two sets of districts—one for elementary (grades first to sixth) and one for high school (grades seventh to twelfth). This plan would permit the retention of most, and perhaps with some changes in the system of employing superintendents, the retention of all the present towns and cities as elementary districts. Some unitary advantage for the districts in which the high schools now fall might be retained by making the high-school board in those cases the elementary board for those districts, plus elected members from the other districts, with voting power in proportion to the school population served. Were such a plan adopted it would be wise to provide by law for an educational advisory board to the high-school district superintendent to be made up of the superintendents of the elementary districts and the high-school principal or principals.

The complexity of this arrangement, and the sacrifice of power to adapt practices in the entire system, argue against this final step. The strength of the argument would seem to favor the simpler large district organization for both elementary and high schools.[1]

[1] *Schools for Our Children*, Vol. II, pp. 142–145, Report of the Commission on the Legal Structure of Rhode Island Public Education, Feb., 1942.

TENDENCIES TO OVEREMPHASIS OF ONE PRINCIPLE

There follow five examples of overemphasis of a single principle:

Auditing Accounts

The policy of auditing local accounts by state agencies has its origin in the prudence setting. The state has set up a mechanism for the determination of budgets. When the budget is determined, it is supposed to be the spending plan. Because of the complexity of the operation of local school systems there are ample opportunities for varying from such an expenditure plan and varying degrees of opportunity for peculation. This gives rise to the need for an audit by a central agency or by some other independent agency. When the audit is by an independent agency there is little likelihood that it will overstep its bounds. When it is by an official agency, however, there is always the temptation for the central officer to exercise judgment as to the desirability of the expenditure. When this occurs, control is really shifted from the local body to the central body. In the overzealous serving of one principle a shift in the emphasis on political democracy, adaptability, and flexibility is undesignedly brought about. It then becomes a conflict between the prudential principle (checks and balances) and both the political democracy and adaptability principles. The point where this appears is crystal clear if we understand the demands of adaptability and democracy.

The frequency with which state legislatures have set up auditing services or prebudgetary reviewing bodies, however, shows a strong tendency to face this problem in terms of the demands of prudential principles only. It is easy to see that looking at the problem from the standpoint of prudence we could readily be enthusiastic about the possibility of a central agency making economies or keeping the local school boards within the bounds of a strict interpretation of the law. It is only when we see that adaptability demands considerable discretion on the part of the local communities in interpreting the law, and that the courts exist as a prudential device for protecting the public from too broad interpretation, that the folly of such extreme prudential legislation becomes apparent.

In the drives for economy in recent years the examples of prudence overstepping its bounds have been all too frequent. One of our greatest needs at the present time is for wise administrative insight that can educate the public, the legislatures and the central officers to the need for examining the possible conflicts between central regulation, which is usually prudential, and the principles of adaptability and

flexibility. The great need is to know how far we can safely go with prudential regulation. This applies quite as truly as between the central regulation in a local school system and the discretion left to individual teachers in the staffs of individual schools. In his book, *The Basis of Social Theory*, Balz has stated the basic issue as follows:

> The dynamic society faces this dilemma: If the control of the group over the individual, however such control is accomplished, be repressive, in so far discovery, invention, initiative, the exercise of constructive imagination, and achievement in every field are discouraged; and this means the surrender of the faith in Progress. On the other hand, in so far as no control is exerted over the variant individual, spontaneity is encouraged, but variation may bear fruits threatening disaster, disintegration, the dissolution of civilization. The freedom that permits desirable variations permits undesirable variations: and once more the faith in Progress is seriously impaired. Doubtless the concrete situation in a society is vastly more complex than such a dilemma suggests. Somewhere between an extreme of despotic control carried into detail and the opposite extreme where there is no control and well-nigh no society must lie the requisite mean. But the problem is: where? Limitations must exist—but how are they to be fixed?[1]

Democratic Administration

The desire to extend the scope of participation in policy formation, if allowed to go to its logical ends, may result in gross conflicts with the prudential principle. When a school superintendent feels that he cannot take action on an important matter of an urgent nature without time-consuming discussion with the school staff, the application of the democracy principle has gone beyond its bounds. The dividing line may be defined as something short of the point where the teaching staff resents as an invasion of their rights a decision made without consulting them. Any part teachers may play in the formulation of administrative policy over and beyond that required by law must be thought of as that extra consideration of human personality that an able administrator is able to provide in the administration of the schools, and it should be appreciated as such. It should not be thought of as a gift for which teachers should be unduly appreciative but rather as that extra something which a good school administrator is able to provide because of good will toward his fellow workers. It is a mark of good administration so long as the administrator does not feel himself subservient to his colleagues and so long as the teaching staff does not consider it as anything more significant than the encouraging smile or the stimulating word of a considerate coworker.

[1] BALZ, ALBERT G. A., *The Basis of Social Theory*, p. 240, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1924.

Prudence dictates that the responsibility to decide be definitely focalized at a point where it can be exercised without undue delay. Democracy demands that decisions shall be shared as fully as possible. There is no conflict so long as neither oversteps its bounds.

Another key, perhaps a better key, to the border line between the demands of these two principles, comes in the allocation of glory. If the administrator and his colleagues can face their tasks as having common objectives with specialized responsibilities so that the power and the glory are both generously shared, conflicts between the demands of prudence and democracy are not likely to arise.

Choice of High Schools

One of the persistent problems faced by administrators is the decision as to the desirability of permitting pupils to attend high schools in other districts at public expense. In Chap. IX there is a discussion of the conflict of interpretation between the state superintendent and the courts with respect to the desirability of requiring the board of education operating a vocational school to pay the tuition of a pupil to an academic high school. Here was a definite case of conflict between equality and economy. Economy demanded that there be some sacrifice in the choice of high-school opportunities by the student in order that the cost to the district might not be increased. Obviously, in sending this pupil to another high school there was no decrease in cost to the board to the extent of the tuition paid for attendance in the other district.

At first this seems like a clear case of conflict to be decided either in terms of justice or of prudence. On further examination it will be seen that there are degrees to both of these principles. Permitting one pupil to go to the academic high school might have resulted in a large number transferring from the vocational school for no reason other than prejudice. This was probably a more important issue in the minds of the school authorities than the amount of money required to pay the tuition of this one student. Such a situation can be resolved by making it the responsibility of some independent authority, such as the county superintendent or even the state department of education, to determine whether or not the pupil was being denied what was as good for him as what the local school provided was for the great mass of the pupils—in other words, to determine what the equality principle demands. This would provide a check on the shift of pupils merely for reasons of personal likes or dislikes. It would safeguard the sending district from the extreme situation where it would have to pay the tuition for a large number of pupils and at the same time would safeguard the

pupil who has special needs. Taking the issue as it really existed, then, the solution would be a balance of justice and prudence rather than either a compromise or a decision in favor of one to the neglect of the other.

Failure to have provision for just such an adjustment in most states is resulting today in the denial to a great many children of the right to educational opportunities that could be produced without any violation of the prudential principle. There are indications that this situation obtains because of the failure to analyze the problem fully in terms of all the principles involved.

Quite different cases arise when pupils who live in a district that does not provide a high-school education are given the right to choose any high school that they wish and to have their tuition and transportation provided. If there are a number of schools available, as there sometimes are, such a requirement may result in a cost for transportation that would be a gross violation of the prudential principle. Obviously, such a regulation carries the equality principle to an extreme. The demands of equality would seem to be met by the choice of a single high school to be made by the board of education, accompanied by the provision discussed above that the pupils whose cases justified attendance at another high school be decided by some outside authority and dealt with in accordance with the facts.

District Organization

It is of interest that in most states people in local school districts have the final say in the establishment of district reorganization. Experience has shown that this provision has been an important stumbling block in modernizing the effective organization of rural school districts. It is a case where liberty has not been well used. It could be said to be in conflict with the structural design of the school system involved, for the right of the school district to make decisions comes *after* the creation of the district. The creation of the district is an act of the state. Just as home rule over communities has come about in spite of statutory law, thus serving adaptability, home rule over district organization has come about by legislative acts that do not appear to be in accord with the legal theory underlying the structure of public education. It results in an overemphasis of democracy at the cost of prudence.

Reporting to the Public

In recent years reports to the public have taken upon themselves a far more interesting and informative style. The term applied to such

reports that are used in the presenting of a proposed budget is "justification budget." This term itself has a prudential emphasis that is altogether too characteristic of even these improved reports. If the earlier reports had become formal and deadly, the newer reports, for the most part, are too prudential. They seem to be designed to arouse interest and emotion by showing individual children performing a variety of school activities. Little is done, however, to bridge the gap between expenditures and what these activities do for the children. Fundamentally, there seems to be no reason why the educational budget should not be related to various kinds of growth or expected growth of children which would be understandable to the public.

The question may be raised as to whether or not a picture showing children playing basketball, or children on a field trip, or children playing with blocks, or making paper houses, conveys any great intelligence to the citizen as a policy-determining element of the community. These reports, fine as they are, for the most part still hark back to the keynote of the old-type school publicity service that follows the narrowly prudential dogma that if you keep the people up on what the schools are doing they will not be down on the schools. The thing that is lacking is the drive of the democracy principle that would seek to inform the public truly, not to persuade the public, and of the adaptability principle that seeks challenge where it can find it.

The "justification budget" is an admission that the public does have something to say. What we need is an educational budget that, in addition, accepts the democratic and adaptability principles that we *want* the public to have something to say and we want them to know the implications of facts, not simply to sell them on policies decided upon with little or no participation beyond that required in the legal framework of democracy.

CHECKS ON BALANCED JUDGMENT

A final word should be said about the safeguard that democratic participation gives against overlooking some phases of the human side of the common-sense equation. The more people who participate, and the more varied their backgrounds, the less likely we are to overlook important aspects of a problem. Democratic control has the further advantage of making it possible for those concerned to vote the way they feel and perhaps cannot express in words.

Conscientious administration, however, will not depend too much on the effectiveness of these useful devices. Large groups, even whole communities, have a way of overlooking important considerations. There is no real substitute for thorough common-sense analysis, and,

in as complex an enterprise as education, the wise administrator is the best safeguard for important areas of consideration, particularly for those that arise more from the purposes of education. The part played by General Smuts in the national development of the Union of South Africa is an example. For many years he suffered severe opposition from the Boers because of his insistence on looking at *all* the facts, weighing *all* the issues.

The structure of our government provides certain types of safeguards for the public that are largely prudential. Most important among these is the courts. In case there is an issue with respect to the meaning of the law, it is the court that says what the meaning shall be. In the case of an individual, a parent, pupil, or school employee, it is the court that decides what adjustment shall be made.

There are vast areas, however, where the courts are seldom invoked.[1] In these areas alert school administration is practically the only safeguard. Most of the cases taken to the court have to do with personal aggrievement. Few cases go to the court that deal with such subjects as an adequate degree of participation on the part of the public in policy formation in terms of the principle of democracy. School administrators are never taken to court for failure to be good leaders or to keep adequate accounts, or to make adequate reports to the public. State regulations are set up to provide a minimum of protection. Certain hearings must be held before the budget is adopted. The board of education may be given the right to terminate the tenure of an administrator. Such regulations take care of crass negligence only.

To a rather disquieting degree, the carrying out of the purposes of the educational system, with due regard to the conceptual design, eventually falls back upon administrative initiative. To a large extent the public has no protection against indolence, lack of good judgment, or lack of dynamic leadership. This places an unusually heavy responsibility upon the educational personnel.

SUMMARY

This chapter provides a restatement of the problem of achieving balanced judgment in the light of the foregoing chapters.

Expressed in terms of the key elements, the exercise and allocation of power, administration may be analyzed as follows:

1. Operating the mechanism:
   a. Application, usually to individuals or groups of individuals, of hard and fast laws, rules, or details of formal procedure.

[1] See HAMILTON, ROBERT R., and PAUL R. MORT, *The Law and Public Education*, p. 68, Chicago: Foundation Press, Inc., 1941.

b. Application of laws, rules, or details of procedure that leave considerable leeway for interpretation.

c. Meeting situations more or less novel in areas that have not been formalized under laws, rules, or approved procedure and for which the administrator exercises final authority "necessarily implied to enable him to carry out the powers expressly granted."

2. Servicing the mechanism:
   a. Keeping the exercise of authority within the defined channels.
   b. Subjecting the allocation of powers under 1 above to continuous appraisal.

Common-sense judgment comes into play in the decisions involved in all of the above, in the free decisions made in administration and in the establishment, servicing, and modification of the operational mechanism.

In analyzing the simplest of functions, in addition to the purpose principles, one or more of the humanitarian principles, one or more of the prudential principles, and one or more of the tempo principles are likely to be pertinent.

In the analysis of complex function it is well to assemble the known incidence of various principles and of empirical knowledge into a logical, internally consistent theory. Giving the historical background and comparative developments in other communities often helps to show the relative emphasis or lack of it in the past and in the practice of other communities.

The present theory of state aid exemplifies the complexity of principles involved in this one area. The audit, democratic administration, choice of high-school-district organization, and reporting to the public exemplify functions having their origin in single principles and therefore subject to particular danger of underemphasis of other principles necessarily involved in operation.

Democratic participation provides a valuable check against overemphasis on any single principle.

Exercises

1. At the end of Chap. II it is suggested that each student select a topic of some scope to analyze in terms of each of the principles. If this has been done the student should have notes on every facet of it, including an understanding of the empirical evidence available on it. If this has been done, it should now be drawn together into an integrated whole reflecting all of these analyses. If it is well integrated it will be a good example of the exercise of balanced judgment. For the purpose of this subject it will be well to show where principles do not apply as well as the contrary. The machinery of your thinking should be apparent to the reader.

2. In connection with the preparation of the above paper, or independent of it, the student will have read some treatment of a subject that will have struck him as being good. Write a critique of it showing how in your judgment it succeeds

and how it fails to take into account all our principles and thus to achieve (or fail to achieve) balanced judgment.

3. Questions 3, 4, and 6 of the Exercises following Chap. VI call for reevaluation at this time. Can you see better understanding of the common-sense principles from this level?

4. If the student has been keeping a "Resource Book" (as suggested at the end of Chap. II) he may find it valuable to draw together in succinct form the criteria of balanced judgment. If he can find pertinent examples of well-rounded judgment they may prove of future use as emulative examples.

5. It is believed that the student will find it of value to use the common-sense principles for three purposes:

a. As sharp-edged tools for the expression of ideas

b. To clarify his understanding of concepts to be emphasized in gaining receptive attention to plans and programs

c. As criteria in arriving at a balanced judgment

Can you illustrate by specific examples each of these uses?

6. At the end of Chap. I, it was suggested that the student form a list of administrative areas. If he has such a list (if not he may use the one given in Chap. I) he will find that a comprehensive check of that list against the common-sense principles will bring the utility of the principles into clearer relief. It is suggested that he draw up a chart similar to that below (allowing enough space for meaningful comment in each square) in which he will note the implication of each principle on each administrative area.

7. Which of the common-sense principles would you use as primary justification of:

Age-Graded School
P.T.A.'s
Extra office help
Physical Education teacher
Kindergartens
Increased library fund
"Go-to-school-night" for parents

8. In attacking unmet needs of school systems the Metropolitan School Study Council asked committees of teachers to work throughout a whole year in assuring themselves of what the new problems really were before proposing ways of meeting them. This was because it had been noted that it is frequently fifty years between the recognition of a need and the development of a satisfactory invention to meet it. Do you think that such emphasis of time for forming a conceptual design would be promising for the attack of current administrative problems with which you are familiar?

9. Burke, in his *Defensible Spending for Public Schools*, is mainly concerned with prudence, but he has not entirely overlooked other factors. Locate specific instances of this. Does this book represent "Balanced Judgment"?

10. Can you locate specific concern with each of the principles and the conditioners of educational administration developed in Chaps. II to XVI in this book in *Schools for Our Children?*

11. In Freund's discussion of the legal aspects of administrative discretion in his *Administrative Powers over Persons and Property* can you discern an interaction with the common-sense principles we have developed?

Administrative area \ Common-sense principle	Democ. of admin.	Struc-tural democ.	Justice	Equality of opportun.	Prudence of caution*	Prudence of public under-standing†	Adapt.	Flex.	Stab.
Provision for exceptional children									
Reporting to parents									
Purchasing of supplies									
Etc.									

* (Economy, checks and balances, liberty and license.)
† (Simplicity, responsibility, loyalties, inertia.)

12. Explain the interaction of principles found in the reference to *Education for American Democracy* given in the Selected Readings below and our common-sense principles.

13. Does *Planning for American Youth* represent a balanced picture?

14. Read the reference to Mort and Reusser's *Public School Finance* or the reference to the American Council on Education's *Educational Research* given below as examples of the common-sense principles employed in evolving a general theory or conceptual basis for meeting a problem.

Selected Readings

American Council on Education, *Educational Research* No. 10, Vol. III, Series I of Studies, Chap. VI, pp. 135–166, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1939.

BURKE, ARVID J.: *Defensible Spending for Public Schools*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

FREUND, ERNST: *Administrative Powers over Persons and Property*, Chap. VI, pp. 71–103, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928.

MORT, PAUL R., and WALTER C. REUSSER: *Public School Finance*, Chaps. VI and XVII, pp. 117–128, 375–403, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941.

MURSELL, JAMES L.: *Education for American Democracy*, Introduction and Appendix, pp. 9–32, 475–495, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1943.

National Association of Secondary School Principals, National Education Association, *Planning for American Youth*, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1944.

Rhode Island Commission on the Legal Structure of Public Education, *Schools for Our Children*, Vols. I and II. Providence, R.I.: Commission on the Legal Structure of Rhode Island Public Education, 1941 and 1942.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LOCAL OPERATIONAL SETTING

Any school district is an operating unit authorized by law, delegated certain powers by the state, and conditioned in its actions by defined procedures, regulatory machinery, and services from other governmental agencies. This we conceive as the legal setting.[1] The local powers are shared by law (by statute and court decision) among the voters, the school board, the superintendent, the teachers, the pupils, and the parents. This chapter is limited to the powers and functions of school districts, school boards, and school district administrators.

EXTENT OF LOCAL POWERS

In most of our states the political democracy principle has been greatly emphasized. Broad powers are granted to a local group, the school board, usually elected by the people in the district. While according to legal theory such boards have only the power that the law gives them, in actual practice the law is written in general rather than in specific terms, and the courts have interpreted such general grants of power to include the powers "necessarily implied to enable them to carry out the express powers given them."

Specifically, they have power to levy specified taxes, the power to determine the scope of the program, the power to determine the curriculum, and the power to establish rules and regulations (laws for the operation of the schools). Any or all of these may be subject to specific restriction or extensions in all the school districts in a state or in a given class of districts. The restrictions or extensions of power may be unique for an individual community as a result of special legislation or city charter, but this is rather unusual since most legislatures frown on special legislation, and the courts in most states do not recognize educational provisions in city charters when they are out of line with general legal provisions.

Since this book is directed to administrators in school districts, the advice is to search through state statutes and pertinent court decisions so as to determine the legal metes and bounds within which the school district operates. It cannot be safely assumed that the under-

[1] Discussed in Chap. XIX.

standing commonly held locally or by the legal adviser of the board of education is necessarily accurate with respect to the extent of freedom. It will tend to be heavy on "what you can't do" and largely conjectural on what the possible range of discretion is. Defining the metes and bounds is often no easy job, for the legislation pertinent to a given class of school districts may be scattered throughout the statutes.[1]

The importance of this flows from the fact that the interpretation of the law is primarily a matter between the local authorities, their own public and employees, and the courts. The state superintendent may be commissioned by law to act as a court of law, but as an interpreter before the case is brought he would seem to have no more standing than any other individual. Exceptions would be in those cases where he has specific punitive powers; for example, power to withhold state aid if an unlicensed teacher is employed. Except for these instances the board can interpret the law as it will, subject only to the possibility of being brought to court by an aggrieved party. If brought to court, the court has the final say as to whether or not the board's interpretation was correct. There are plenty of examples where the court has interpreted the law to mean what in its judgment was the right thing, although it seemed to stretch the letter of the law considerably to make it fit. The Kalamazoo case is in point.[2]

As a matter of fact, the scope of school board powers is far greater than most boards realize. In the studies of adaptability it was discovered that adaptations are usually in actual operation for something like 15 years before permissive legislation, if any, is passed. It is extremely unlikely that a court would declare illegal a policy that has been in operation over such a period. Why was the permissive legislation passed then? Was it to reassure the unduly fearful? One cannot but wonder how many innovations are aborted because of the fear that they may be outside the school board's power. What the writer is suggesting is that the scope of power be not unduly delimited by going to the state department or legal advisers. He suggests that the board and the superintendent are interpreters in their own right.

The analysis should include legislation enacted by central agents, usually the state superintendent or commissioner or the state board of education. The scope of legislative powers invested in such agents is usually narrow, but the resulting acts have the force of law.

[1] A superintendent who has recently gone through this procedure reports that his board was amazed at the scope of its powers.

[2] For a discussion of this highly significant case, see Robert R. Hamilton and Paul R. Mort, *The Law and Public Education*, Chap. IV, Chicago: Foundation Press, Inc., 1941.

It should include, also, pertinent decisions of courts of last resort, often referred to in the state school codes.

It is suggested that when this analysis has been made its salient points be made a part of the board's rules and regulations, just as the constitutional provisions and pertinent court decisions are made a part of the state school code. The rules and regulations are the local district's school code. This will be one safeguard against such incidents as the following:

1. The superintendent did not know that the city charter educational provisions used as a basis for defending a complex and obnoxious system of fiscal control had no standing in law.
2. The people did not know that the state law gave them the power to change the number of members on a board that was too small.
3. No one in the community knew that they had the power to add a junior college even though it was not mentioned in the statutes.
4. The board of education believed that it was required by law to respond to suggestions of state inspectors.
5. The board and the superintendent thought that no new action should be undertaken without checking with the state department to see whether it was legal. (Of course all the state department could do was to guess or refuse to advise. If it answered the question it was called dictatorial; if it refused, as it should—it was called pussyfooted. Something wrong here—it should not have been put on the spot.)

BOARD RULES AND REGULATIONS

An examination of a large number of sets of rules and regulations reveals that this problem of developing an "internal legal structure" as a setting for local school operation is in need of attention in many school districts. Accordingly the following rather extensive analysis is provided.[1] It begins with an analysis of the issues as they may well be developed by superintendent and board. Following this references are made to a set of regulations applying the principles evolved. The rules and regulations referred to are given as Appendix D.

Scope of Powers

Typically, the largest powers delegated by the state legislature fall into two groups. The chief holder of these delegated powers is the board of education. It enjoys wide discretionary powers with respect to the character of education. Supplementing the board of education is the local electorate, which is charged with the responsibility of determining the personnel of this state agency (the local board). The

[1] Chap. XIX goes into greater detail with respect to the legal and other principles involved in the general legal structure within which school systems operate and thus amplifies the treatment of principles which follows in this chapter

electorate may also be charged with the responsibility of deciding as to the amount of money to be raised by taxation either for capital outlay or for both capital outlay and current expense. In some states the responsibility of the financial meeting of the electorate goes somewhat beyond this simple statement. The electorate may have the power to vote upon items of expenditure. It can thereby exercise rather detailed powers with respect to the scope and character of education. In other states it can vote only on the total amount to be raised, the discretion as to detail being left with the board of education. In addition, municipal authorities are usually instructed by law to provide certain services such as the collection of taxes. It is important to remember that in carrying out these functions the agencies are acting as state agents.

The presumption is that the community as a cross section of the population of the state in facing educational issues, will safeguard the interests of the state. Legally, it is acting in the state's interests, not solely in the locality's interests. Actual failure of localities to safeguard the state's interests is probably the greatest reason for the growth of mandates and prohibitions in legislation passed by the legislature itself or by its central agents. It seems safe to say that home rule can be strengthened and the trend toward increases in state mandate, prohibition, and regulation can be slowed down only by agencies of local jurisdiction holding in mind that they are, in fact, state agents and not solely local agents.

The confusion in the minds of many people is no doubt due to the device whereby in most states school board members are selected by the school district electorate. That this is but one device of many which might have been developed by the legislature is evidenced by the fact that in many cities the school board is appointed by the mayor; in one state all school board members are appointed by the governor; and in another state school board members in large cities are appointed by the courts. How the statement of local powers may well appear in the local administrative code (rules and regulations) is illustrated in Appendix D, the Preamble and Article I.

Number and Length of Term of School Board Members

There are many issues that must be taken into account in appraising the size, mode of election, and term of office of school boards:

1. School government is essentially democratic. The school board must be answerable to the public and subject to their deliberate influence.
2. School board members should be chosen for their farsightedness with respect to the place public education has in providing the sinews of our system of govern-

ment and in realizing the ideals back of that government for as many as possible of the persons making up each generation. They are the guardians of the state as well as agents of the state in realizing the promise to individuals that are expressed in such documents as the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution.

3. The school board must be large enough to provide balanced judgment and small enough to be an effective working group.

4. The nature of education is such that the school board should represent the people directly, not indirectly as an agency of municipal government.

5. Educational issues are so far-reaching and so different from those of municipal government that it is essential that they be kept separate.

6. Since the educational program is a long-term program, provision must be made for stability by protecting the school board from sudden or impetuous overthrow.

The assurance of balanced judgment argues for the largest number of persons who can work together effectively. Students of the problem favor a board of from five to nine with a strong preference for seven. They also favor an odd number to avoid the possibility of an evenly divided board. Five is considered too small by many because it is easy for a small clique to gain control. Nine is considered somewhat unwieldy. This narrows the favored number to seven.

For the school board member to be able to think wisely with respect to education requires that he have a considerable period in which he can become acquainted with the complex mechanism of education. Acquiring, with the assistance of the superintendent of schools and others, an understanding of the educational objectives and practices in the community as a basis for independent judgment is one of the major responsibilities of a man or woman who accepts a place on the school board. There must be time for this period of growth and understanding and for reaping the fruits of it. Accordingly the term of a school board member should be long rather than short. With a board of seven members the length of term may well be seven years. This will mean a considerable extension in the terms of school board members in most communities.

To obtain stability, provision should be made for overlapping terms. Preferably there should be an election of one school board member each year and, normally, no more than two in any one year. Changes in the complexion of the board could thus be achieved, but in case of community controversies there would be a cooling-off period. A community could determine the character of the school board but it would rarely have the power to change the character of the board in a single election.

Anything that can be done to disassociate the school election from the municipal, state and federal election should be done. The favored

devices are separate school elections, listing of board candidates on a separate ballot, and listing all candidates on all party tickets. This makes for clarification of the authority and responsibility of the electorate with regard to this important state concern.

Note how the size of the board and details for election are dealt with in Article II of the Green Willows Code, Appendix D.

Nature of School Board Powers

It is clear from the above that the broad range of discretion necessary for the day-to-day operation of a complex enterprise such as the schools is placed in the board of education. So far as the state law is concerned, the board of education may sit in an office in continuous session and decide upon every action to be taken in the school. They can, if they see fit, meet each morning and decide when school shall meet that morning, which teachers shall take which classes, what shall be taught that day, what rooms shall be swept and when, and at the end of the day may call in all employees and pay them for the day's work. Clearly under such a plan of operation school board members would have no time to sleep, and schools would have real difficulty in operating efficiently. At the other extreme, the board of education might legally employ a superintendent of schools and delegate to him all decisions except those few specified by law as the board's and the board's alone.

The fact is, school boards operate between these two extremes. The problem for any given school board is to decide at just what point it shall operate between these extremes. State law usually stipulates that a board of education may pass rules and regulations. In this they are limited only by the mandates, prohibitions, and regulations set up by the legislature and its central agents.

School Board as a Legislative Body

In the absence of law specifically regulating the manner in which a school board shall operate as a legislative body, it becomes a matter of basic organizational procedure for a school board to adopt fundamental regulations setting up the proper checks and balances on itself and its employees. It must fix responsibility and authority always with due consideration of all principles the serving of which may be expedited. Since these checks and balances must be stable to be effective, the passing, revising, or repealing of rules and regulations should be matters for serious consideration. The regulations may well require action by a majority of all the members at a meeting in the call for which the intention to act upon the rules and regulations has been

announced, and a second action after the lapse of a month. This delay in action for passage or modification of rules and regulations is proposed on the principle that a legislative body should act deliberately; that it does not sit continually in session at the beck and call of an administrative body; that law should be enacted deliberately and modified only after careful consideration; that time should be allowed for appraising consequences (see Appendix D, Articles III, IV, and V).

Problems from Dual Nature of Powers

A school board in passing rules and regulations becomes a legislative body while it remains the administrative body for those matters not placed under law by its acts. This fact makes it of the greatest importance that the school board recognize its dual nature. It must not invade the legislative domain as an administrative body simply because its personnel as an administrative body happens to coincide with its personnel as a lawmaking body.

Failure to recognize this principle is the source of much confusion and grief in the operation of boards of education. Accordingly, the basic regulations may well provide a definition of the board's intent to keep its functioning as an administrative body separate from its functioning as a legislative body. This intent may be expressed by a regulation providing, in effect, that when a regulation is passed by the board of education the act takes the subject of the regulation out of the hands of the board as an administrative body and automatically places it in the hands of the board's chief administrative officer, the superintendent of schools. He then becomes charged with administering the particular function as a ministerial agent of the board, reporting back to them from time to time the results of the administration of the regulation with recommendations, if he has any, for changes in the regulation to make it operate more justly or efficiently (see Appendix D, Article V, Sec. 4–6).

Application of Rules

In making this statement the board adopts as a principle that the application of a rule to individual cases is not a matter of the board's concern except as it reflects upon the wisdom of the rule itself. This can be strengthened by a regulation to the effect that the board shall not have the power to suspend its rules and regulations governing the administration of the schools *without unanimous consent of all members.* If the board wishes to keep its administrative hand on the individual application of any rule, it should repeal the rule and throw the function

back into the realm of board administration (see Appendix D, Article V, Sec. 3).

Failure to recognize this principle is another source of misunderstanding and difficulty in board action in American schools. In fact, much of the opposition to having codified rules comes from the conflicts between the ministerial officer and the board's own attempt to keep an administrative hand on the individual application of its rules. Rules and regulations become a useful tool for the efficient operation of schools when their true nature is recognized by all concerned and the basic principles followed.

It should be understood that in the violation of these principles, boards are most often to blame. If a board violates a principle of its own structure, there is little that an employee of the board can do about it except to comply with the board's wishes, whatever the legal rights in the matter may be. It should therefore be a matter of board ethics to hold fast to the structural principles differentiating legislative and administrative functions.

School Board as an Administrative Body

In theory, the superintendent of schools operates as a ministerial officer with respect to school board regulation, in the same manner as he operates with respect to state law. His authority and responsibility are fixed. He is answerable for his acts under the judicial structure rather than to the lawmaking body.

With respect to those matters not made subject to school board law, however, the superintendent of schools shares the administrative responsibility with the board itself. Usually, when all matters that the board of education wishes to reduce to legal rule have been cared for, the scope of administrative work is still very great. To achieve results with economy of effort most of this must be delegated to paid employees.

Formulation of Operational Plans

In practical operation the superintendent of schools as chief executive officer carries the responsibility for formulating plans of procedure in the various areas. These plans he presents to the board of education for discussion and revision in the light of its advice. The board of education then gives approval to the plan either by vote or, more frequently, by common consent. In other words, the superintendent of schools and the board agree together upon a policy and he, as chief executive officer, has the responsibility for carrying it out, considerable

flexibility being permitted. As he moves along in the administration of the plan he makes it a point as a matter of prudence to keep the board informed as to any changes in the pattern of operation which he considers wise (see Appendix D, Article VI).

On the other hand, members of the board of education themselves may from their own contacts with the community come to judge that the plan of procedure should be modified in some way or another, and this is brought to the attention of the board and superintendent for any action they see fit to take. Ease of change makes the plan adaptable.

Administration of Operational Plans

Provision for the general administration of the schools in this realm not covered by specific rule or regulation can be cared for by statements of policy that may or may not be included in the rules and regulations. These statements of policy may be quite general; for example, "the superintendent of schools shall have responsibility for the administration of the schools with the advice and consent of the board of education." Or the field can be covered by more specific statements of policy, such as "the superintendent of schools shall have responsibility for the development of the course of study with the advice and consent of the board of education." Such a statement leaves the extent of participation by others within the range of discretion of the superintendent. Recognition of the democracy principle may be made by some such statement as "the superintendent shall be responsible for the development of courses of study with the advice of the professional staff, parents, other members of the community, and the board of education, provided, however, that the final adoption of the course of study shall be upon specific approval of the board of education."

Such statements of policy may range from the highly specific to no more than an understanding of how the board of education shall carry on its administrative functions. They should be designed to free the board of education from administrative detail without taking its hand from the pulse of the schools. The superintendent and those working with him are given great responsibility and commensurate authority, but they are not made free and equal agents along with the board.

Standing Committees

The standing committee as a device for doing school board business is in bad repute among students of school administration. The reasons are both historical and contemporary. The standing committee was

of prudential origin. It was established as a means of carrying on the administration of schools in that long period before the innovation of school superintendents. The board divided itself up into small committees so that it could get the vast amount of administrative work done. Then, as employed administrative officers came into the picture, there was a failure to realize that this step made the standing committees of the board unnecessary. Currently we have in many school systems, therefore, an uneconomical dual system of administration—administration by standing committees and administration by the superintendent of schools. This makes for duplication and multiplies the busywork of the board to the extent that it seldom gets down to the kind of work on basic policy envisaged in the preceding section.

Committee on Finance. Arguments are frequently made for the retention of the finance committee. It has served a useful purpose in simplifying the work of the board, particularly in those boards that must operate under antiquated state laws requiring board action on each voucher. These laws were developed prior to the invention of the budget as a control instrument and were for the purpose of assuring the prudential management of funds that the checks and balances of businesslike budgetary procedure and outside audit now care for better. Such budgetary procedure in public affairs is relatively new. As a matter of fact, there are still vestiges of the old types of control in most school codes. They may require the president of the board and the clerk of the board to certify each voucher. School boards should take leadership in having the law brought up to date so as to free the board president and clerk of this responsibility. Such communities have much to gain in freeing their boards from detailed administration.

As a matter of good practice, the justification for every expenditure should lie either in the budget or in special action by the board.[1] Financial machinery can be set up for staff handling of all details, checked by periodic outside audits, so that each person on the staff, as well as the board and the community, can be safeguarded. However, as long as such provision exists, the board's rules and regulations must agree with them, however antiquated they may be. Even within such requirements, however, it should be possible to simplify the procedure sufficiently to obviate the excess machinery of a finance committee.

Committee on Public Relations. A committee on public relations that can advise with the superintendent of schools not only on public relations but on the development of programs for increasing public understanding of education seems to promise some degree of usefulness,

[1] This becomes of increasing significance as more people share in the formulation of the budget.

but with a small board it is hardly necessary. In place of it a provision for board meetings dedicated to the latter purpose would seem to be more effective (see Appendix D, Article III, Sec. 8).

At first thought this would seem to be a rather large task for any group not giving their entire time to the work of public education. When it is realized, however, that the entire educational process derives its meaning from the two basic objectives of public education—(1) the protection of society and (2) the welfare of children—the task becomes simplified. It is not essential for the school board, for the members of the community at large, or for the classroom teachers, for that matter, to see every facet of the school system in minute detail in order to have the background of understanding that will assist in the formulation of sound judgment on individual matters of policy. These two basic principles are reflected in four major educational provisions: (1) the curriculums and the scope of educational opportunities; (2) the provision for child study and guidance; (3) the administrative machinery; and (4) the provisions for broad participation on the part of public and staff in the formulation of the educational program.

The time set aside for the study of education should be used to review the history of these large aspects of the educational program in the community as related to the developments in the state and nation at large. From the study and discussion of the evolution of these various phases of the educational program from their beginnings in the community, the members of the school board and those invited to sit with them will become aware of exactly what stage of the evolutionary process the community is now going through. Each of the facets of the school system will lose its static appearance. It will be seen as it really is—in its true state of slow or rapid change. Its strong and weak points will become clear. When against this background of understanding, policy with respect to an aspect of this evolutionary program comes up for determination, it will more readily be assessed in terms of what it can contribute to the program in the community. There will be less danger of taking wrong steps that would limit rather than improve opportunities for children and the welfare of the state.

It is not beyond the realm of possibility for the school board at least once in three years to cover the entire gamut of the educational program, if care is taken in selecting the subjects of study close to, rather than far removed from, the objectives. That this is possible is clear when it is realized that no matter in what detail we consider the educational program it never rises to any higher level than its objectives. The story of the educational program of the community can thus be written in 1,000 volumes, 100 volumes, 1 volume or in a single

sentence. The task of the school board is to choose the point along the scale where sufficient detail exists to give perspective without obscuring the objectives.

Such a plan of study for school boards can be extended to an increasingly larger community group. Once this is done, decisions by the school board on detailed matters of policy will gain more and more significance to the community at large. Members of the community who have participated will have more and more to contribute. They will grow in power to contribute helpfully, to advise as to the rate of evolution in the various phases of the educational program. They will use less of the pressure-group tactics that so often play up some dramatic and often unimportant aspect of educational policy to the disadvantage of more important matters.

Since every year means the emerging of new school board members, the emerging of members of the community interested in public policy, and the maturing of teachers to an interest in education as public policy, and since every year means a shift in the scale of need to which the educational program of the community must be adjusted, this educational process must go on continually. The suggestion is not unreasonable that at least a third of the school board meetings should be given over entirely to building of understanding on the part of the school board and to the sharing of this understanding with members of the community and the professional staff.

By the same token, it is not unreasonable to consider the preparation of materials for discussion groups as one of those tasks of the superintendent of schools that he cannot neglect with impunity any more than he can neglect the preparation of a budget or the employment of teachers. If the school board is to be more than an inadequate substitute for trained executives, on the one hand, or a passive accepter of proposals from professional workers, on the other, there is no way to avoid such educational processes as those suggested above.

Committee on Law. Finally there is some support for a committee on law. Such a committee, working closely with the superintendent of schools and such other professional staff members as they might choose, could perform two functions: first, to give continual consideration to the maintenance of the codification of the rules and regulations under which the school system works; and second, to keep an eye on developments in the state and national governments which affect the control powers and financial status of the local board of education. State regulation is continually under consideration in the state capital. It could be the responsibility of such a committee to keep alert to these developments and to recommend action by the board of education or

other bodies looking toward the maintenance and improvement of the control and financial structure under which the schools must operate.

On the other hand, such a committee is probably superfluous. The adequacy of the local administrative code should be a matter of continuous observation by the superintendent and board members alike. From time to time a committee might be set up to review the code, but a standing committee is hardly necessary for this (see Appendix D, Article IV, Sec. 11). The superintendent, through his state organization contacts, and the board, through its work with the state school board association if there be such, should have ample opportunity to perform this function without a standing committee.

ADMINISTRATIVE PLANS

Administrative Plans vs. Rules and Regulations

It should be noted that in the above discussion the complete operational scheme for a school system assumes more or less detailed operational plans adopted as policy by the board but leaving wide discretion to administrative officers both as to the details of application and as to modification of the plans themselves. In the Green Willows Code, appearing in Appendix D, the following provision appears in the article on Administration:

> The superintendent of schools, after consultation with interested personnel, shall present to the board a plan for the administration of schools, setting out clearly the methods of procedure to be used in the formulation of the budget; for requisitioning and payment for supplies, equipment, and special services; etc.[1]

The rules then proceed to direct the superintendent to keep the plans on file for the inspection of staff, board, or public; to keep the board informed as to their operation. They also state that these plans are not subject to the same deliberateness of modification as the rules in the code—they are administrative acts rather than legislative acts (see Appendix D, Article VI, Sec. 1, 2, 6–8).

Clearly, in some districts it would be wise to place certain of these matters under board rule. These would be instances where community or staff tension might make it undesirable to grant the superintendent relatively wide discretionary power. Or it might be desirable to have board rules covering some aspect of an administrative plan, the rules to be incorporated in the plan.

Every such administrative plan should be developed with due consideration of the purposes of education to be served, of the humanitar-

[1] For a complete statement see Appendix D, Article VI, Sec. 3.

ian, prudential, and tempo principles, and of past experience in the school district, and the evidence as reflected in the literature of the field. Each should be an example of balanced judgment.

Administrative Discretion

It was noted in the discussion of justice, flexibility, equality, and adaptability, particularly, that it is difficult to operate a school system effectively under greatly detailed rules and regulations. The difficulty arises from need of discretion and relative stability. This need varies, and the differentiation made here between legislative acts and administrative plans is a recognition of the need for variation in the scope of discretion and the facility of change. But the issue as to breadth of discretion arises with every rule as well as with every administrative plan, and the variation in this respect from rule to rule and from administrative plan to administrative plan will be great.

The ability of a school system to operate in a setting of the various principles is so important that this matter of discretion is worthy of some additional attention. Rules and procedures should be drafted wherever feasible in terms of the principles involved, leaving broad discretion to administrators in their application.

The amount of discretion needed will vary from subject to subject. For most rules individual administrators should be empowered to make exceptions. The exception-maker should be as close as possible to the people concerned, and everyone concerned should be informed that the power to make exceptions exists.

Particularly is this needed in large school systems to forestall the tendency of principals to "pass the buck" to the central office, realizing that in only rare instances will the individual actually take the issue to the central office.

There are altogether too many state laws and city regulations giving to the state superintendent or to the city superintendent a sort of general power to make every decision. The state regulations of this nature are largely meaningless except as a sort of bluff. Hamilton and Mort, in sizing up the situation with respect to state officers, say:

> Furthermore, any effort to infringe unduly upon individual rights or interfere with discretion placed in local boards, unless the latter's action is "unreasonable," will incur judicial displeasure. The legal reasoning may vary, but the results are rather uniform.[1]

Too many local boards and superintendents take this sort of statement as an excuse to pass the responsibility for some local act to some faraway powerful person. The same thing seems to happen to a very

[1] HAMILTON and MORT, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

unhappy degree in large cities. Let the board's rules and administrative plans make crystal clear that certain ultimate responsibilities for thinking are placed on school principals and subordinate administrators. When any such officer shows that he cannot exercise authority that most administrators carry successfully, the solution should be a change in job for him, not uniform rules for all.

HOME RULE PATTERNS OF ORGANIZATION

This is essentially suggesting that the home rule patterns that characterize to a great degree our state-local relationships be used more fully within local school systems; that they be substituted in some areas of administration for the line and staff relationship. The larger the school system, the more reasonable does this proposal seem to be.

Large Cities vs. Small Districts

The customary pattern of the local system is built into a relatively small community, where the board is less a local legislature and more a sharer in administration than is the case in large cities. Probably the home rule pattern should be utilized to some degree in all systems that have two or more schools. However this may be, it is certain that when a community gets much in excess of 100,000 people the exclusive use of line and staff theory of organization becomes restrictive. As a result, the board itself ceases to be a check on the discretion it delegates. It is too remote. Local administration quotes it as a faraway power with its mind all made up and unchangeable. There appear to be two results: ultimate power is not delegated, and what ultimate power is delegated is in effect rejected by the local administrator.

Outline of Home Rule Pattern

How this can be corrected is a matter of conjecture. The following steps are worth considering:

1. Placing a considerable degree of ultimate power in the hands of school principals by board legislation.
2. Setting up an official local body of laymen (not limited to parents) or laymen and teachers who will have the responsibility for defining policy for the given school or small group of schools.[1]
3. Publicizing to teachers, parents, pupils, and the public at large that these steps have been taken and what the defined range of powers is.

This, it is believed, would provide "local" checks and balances that would prove of sufficient strength so that the ultimate discretionary

[1] There are probably other devices for achieving the desired result. Do some schools achieve it in appreciable degree through parents' associations, community forums, education week? Can they be helped to achieve it more fully and thus avoid as formal an arrangement as that suggested here?

powers prudently placed in the immediate community would become more and more significant. At the same time the provision would make for democracy, equality, justice, flexibility, and adaptability—all areas in which most if not all large cities and some of our large county school districts seem to suffer to some degree.

Applications in Practice

The idea is not entirely new. It is the plan by which the legislature carries out the major part of its constitutional responsibility for education—the delegation of broad powers to school districts. Probably no city or county system is without a considerable degree of it. New York City has the vestigial remains of such a plan. The districts served by the 54 local boards are too large and do not seem ever to have been built into the functioning of the schools. However, some are quite active. A similar situation obtains in the communities of the Cape Province in South Africa. In the Indiana township plan, the local school director was maintained as a sort of overseer of the physical plant. The local boards in that majority of "school districts" of Delaware that do not levy a local tax continue to exercise a considerable range of powers. Local trustees in the Alabama county system have considerable power, including that of rejecting teachers selected for them. Some cities have followed the policy of making the school principal a sort of local "king," a plan that has often been abused, perhaps because of lack of local checks and balances.

What is suggested is the searching out of these exceptions to the line and staff theory. Once found they should be subjected to an analysis in terms of the home rule pattern with which we all are familiar in the state-local relationship. Consideration should be given to possible additions and to the establishment of home rule checks and balances as well as to the possibilities of achieving the desired result with entirely different devices.

Discreet Use of Home Rule Pattern

Since the communities in a city or county system have already lost home rule to an appreciable degree, it may be well to set up somewhat more rigorous standards for returning a measure of it. There seems to be no adequate objection to granting it to some areas while withholding it from others, as the legislatures might well do if they could start over.

It is apparent that consideration should be given to the capacity of the school personnel for exercising leadership. After decades of selection of principals to follow central office leadership it would be surprising if a good number of them would not be found indisposed to

accept the responsibility of a community "superintendent of schools." Such exceptions will leave the situation in the communities denied home rule no worse off than they are but will release powers in communities fitted to move forward. Since there are some indications that central administrative officers of large school districts tend to give an inordinate amount of their time to the backward areas to the neglect of the more dynamic ones, there would seem to be no great disturbance of central office work.[1]

Differentiation between Control and Finance

Note that this calls for decentralization of control, not of taxing authority. Even with this limitation the indications are that the forces released through granting home rule to competent communities would result in greater returns. Studies of educational returns show that within a given expenditure level there are great differences to be accounted for by staff and community influences—particularly where the communities compared are operating under home rule.

There is a possibility, of course, that we need some decentralization of money-raising authority. The only objection to this is the prudential one that communities that could provide a good program by taxing themselves would oppose city-wide or county-wide taxes. However, perhaps this could be met by setting a limit such as no more than 10 per cent in excess of the city or county-wide tax. In almost any city or county, north, south, east, or west, this would open the way to a lighthouse level of support considerably above the city as a whole.[2]

In support of this revolutionary suggestion, attention is called to the fact that if New York City had extended its boundaries another twenty-five miles, approximately half of America's lighthouse school systems would not now be in existence. The present-day lighthouse communities are the fruits of the failure of universal application of the type of school district consolidation that resulted in the massive school districts of American cities.

SUMMARY

School administrators should search through the laws and court decisions to determine the metes and bounds of the powers of the school district in which they work. In so doing it should be held in mind that the interpretation of the law is primarily a matter between local authorities and the courts.

[1] Cillié, François S., *Centralization or Decentralization*, p. 98, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940.

[2] Some such idea is incorporated in the Alabama county unit law.

The scope of school-district powers should be included in the board rules and regulations.

The number and length of terms of school boards is a matter to be appraised in terms of all the principles.

The board rules and regulations should provide simple machinery for board action. They should recognize the difference in the board's legislative functions and its administrative functions. Matters involving a minimum of discretion should be made board law; other matters should be operated according to less formal administrative plans.

The need for administrative discretion to promote flexibility, adaptability, equality, and justice should be an ever-present consideration in the formulation of administrative machinery. It should be balanced against the ability of administrators under the local circumstances to exercise discretion.

In large city districts and in county school systems boards of education should give consideration to the possibility of delegating power to local operating units on the home rule principle as well as on the line and staff principle.

Exercises

1. Criticize the foregoing chapter as an exercise in balanced judgment. Apply the same critical process to three of the books listed in the Selected Readings below that deal with all or part of the general matter of local school administration.
2. Examine the administrative code of Green Willows (Appendix D) with the purpose of discovering whether or not it overemphasizes some of our principles and underemphasizes others. Give particular attention to Article IX for applications of the common-sense principles.
3. Many sets of rules and regulations carry much more detailed statements of the powers of administrative officers than that given as Appendix D. Compare the Green Willows Code in this respect with some set of rules and regulations with which you are familiar, appraising the provisions of each in terms of the advantages and disadvantages of administrative discretion.
4. List your general conclusions on the personnel of an ideal school board. (Number, how chosen, term, personal qualities, etc.)
5. Distinguish between legislative, administrative, and judicial functions of a local school board. Illustrate each. Perform the same exercise in reference to the functions of the school administrator.
6. What should be the relation between the local board and the chief local administrator?
7. What do you believe is the ideal size of a local school district? Defend your answer. What constructive suggestions can you make for adjusting the status quo to conform to your ideas without too great violence to prudential considerations?

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CHAPTER XIX

THE LEGAL STRUCTURE

In Chap. XVIII it is recommended that those concerned with the administration of local school systems chart the metes and bounds of the powers of the school district. This involves the reading of the state school code and constitutional provisions and the examination of decisions of courts of last resort. Unhappily, it is not simply a matter of reading as one might read the instructions for operating some gadget. The written law must be illuminated both by an understanding of education and its purposes and by some understanding of legal theory. The legal theory in turn is an attempt on the part of legal minds to fit our governmental structure into our culture. Accordingly, the basic principles dealt with in this book have a bearing on the interpretation of the status of legal theory itself and in judging its aptness.

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine some of the major principles of statutory law and legal theory that play an important part in determining the meaning of the statutes. The principles considered are the following:

1. The legal fact that education is a state function.
2. The postulate that the power to modify school districts is a power that should reside in a central agency of the state.
3. The relationship between the theory of home rule and the legal status of home rule.
4. Principles involved in the appraisal of the relationship of school government with municipal government.
5. The theory of separability of financial structure and control structure.
6. The theoretical position of the courts in the structure of public education.

Finally, after a brief note dealing with the fluid nature of the structure, a model state school code is introduced.

EDUCATION A STATE FUNCTION

The most significant single element of the structural pattern of American education is the assignment of ultimate responsibility to the state. In each state of the United States education is considered a state function. This means that responsibility for the whole framework of education and for its operation lies with the people as state groups rather than as local groups or as a national group. This would

be much more easily understood if we operated our schools in state units as they do in the Union of South Africa. In such systems there can be no confusion. The provincial legislative body is the school board. The provincial superintendent is the school superintendent. Teachers are employed and assigned and paid from the central office. Each province operates in very much the same manner as a large city school system in the United States.

Origin of Confusion

The confusion in America arises from the fact that to a very large degree our schools are locally operated; that is, they are operated by the communities themselves through their school boards, and the people locally have a wide range within which they can decide what is to be done. On the surface this appears to be a legal conflict between the assignment of authority and responsibility in the state and the actual exercise of authority locally, with emphasis on the political democracy principle.

In observing the practices of school districts it is often difficult to see on the surface, at least, that they are different from municipal government. The chief difference is that the local school district and its organization is a creature of all the people of the state. The powers to make decisions are powers to make decisions for all the people of the state as applied to the community, and the decisions have all the force of state decisions.

The nature of cases in which court decisions have established the legal fact that education is a state function throws light on the distinction. Some of these cases arose from conflicts between school districts and coterminous municipalities. One of the clarifying cases was brought by the municipality of St. Louis against the St. Louis school board. The school board was brought into court for failing to follow the municipal building code. The court ruled in this instance that the school board was not subject to the municipal building code but rather, was subject to the state building code. When it was pointed out that there was no state building code, the court rejoined that since the decision with respect to building construction had been left to the local school districts, whatever decision had been made by the local school district was in fact a state decision and therefore took precedence over the municipal code. In other words, whatever action was taken by the city board of education within its range of powers was state action for the schools of St. Louis.

The contrast between school government and municipal government is brought out clearly by the fact that schools, even in cities, are

operated almost entirely under general legislation while city government is typically established by individual charters. The author recently examined the charters for all the cities in an Eastern state. He was astounded at the paucity of reference to education even though education was referred to as the "educational department," presumably of the municipal government. The references were limited to method of election of the school board and the method of passing on the budget (in lump sum rather than in detail as in the case of the strictly "municipal" departments). The lesson from this is that each school system must be thought of as operating in a general setting established by the legislature. The legislature is a state school board. The state department of education is an executive agent of that state school board; the state board of education is a sort of subcommittee with power to act usually in strictly defined areas.

No school district, large city, or village exists by and of itself. It is part and parcel of the system that ramifies throughout the state.

Powers of Central Officers

It is helpful to be clear on this conception because the principle of education as a state function is often misinterpreted. Frequently it is cited as an excuse for some act of domination of an officer of the state department of education over a local community. As a matter of fact, there is nothing in the principle that gives to the central officer any specific power. His powers, like those of the school district, are of legal origin (usually statutory) and subject to judicial review. In certain matters central officers are given powers to make decisions; in others, the local districts are given full discretion. Neither is justified under this principle in encroaching upon the powers of the other. Both are state agents. With respect to these powers, they are coordinate.[1]

In the areas in which the central officer is not specifically given powers, he serves only in an advisory capacity. As a matter of fact, in most of our states the powers given central officers have been highly restricted. They serve as agencies for the collection of information, for the distribution of school funds, for the operation of the system of teacher certification, and other such services. They are usually given some inspectoral responsibilities over mandated aspects of the educational program. They may even be given some range of discretion with respect to the setting up of standards. Beyond this

[1] New York State appears to be an exception to this. The law seems to give the commissioner certain general legislative and administrative powers.

they serve in a purely advisory capacity, but only a few of them are so staffed as to permit of any extensive advisory service.

Chart of Legal Status

Figure 4 shows these relationships. It shows here that the ultimate authority legally lies with the people of the state. They work

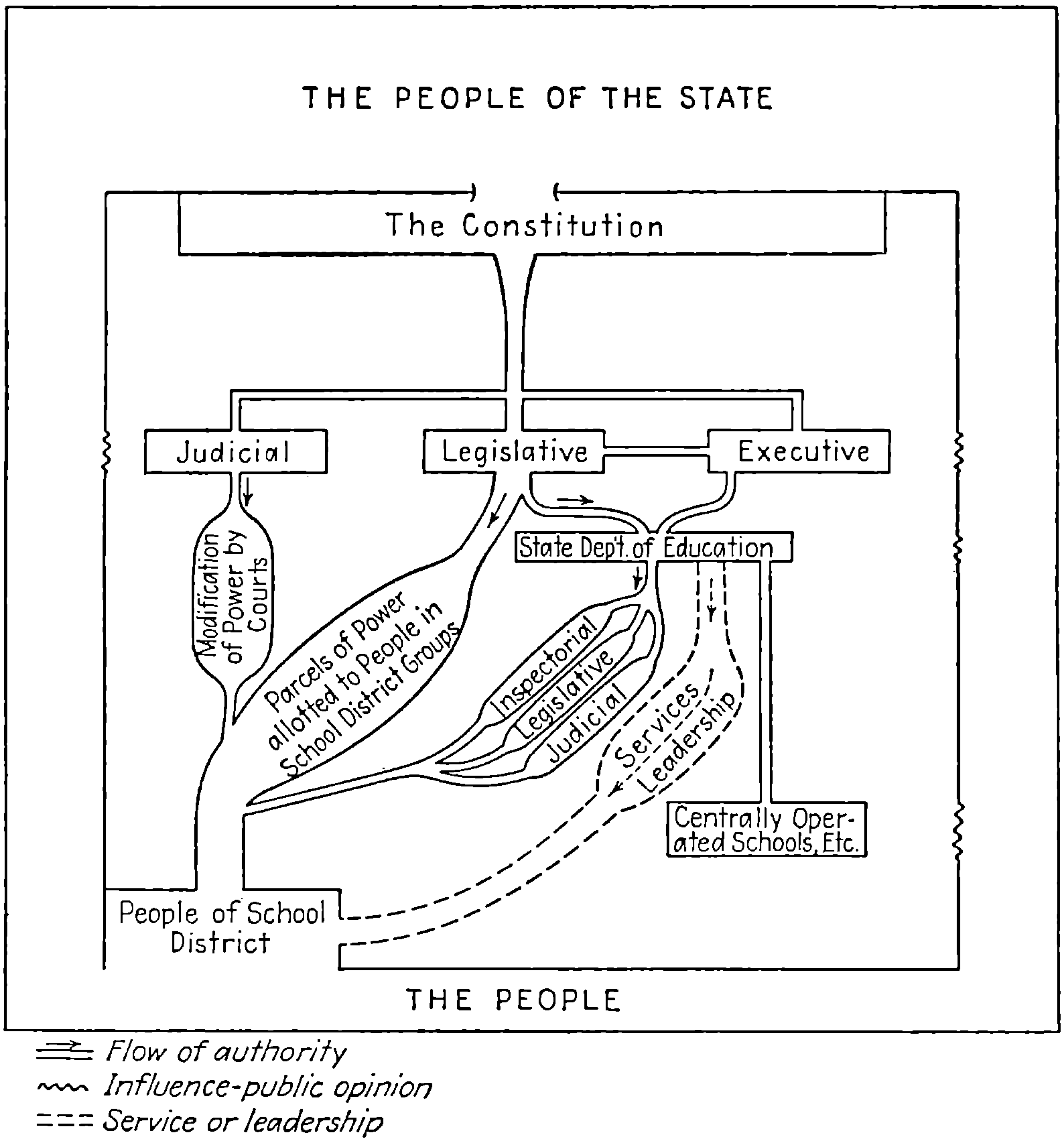

FIG. 4.—The legal status of public education.

first through the state constitution and then through the central agencies: the courts and the legislature. Certain functions may actually be placed in the state department of education by constitutional action. Such functions are free from legislative interference. Subject to such limitations as are set in the constitution, the legislature proceeds to organize the school system.

It will be noted that a line runs from the legislature directly down to the school districts, the school districts themselves being creatures

and direct agents of the legislature. Legislative action having to do with the operation of the schools clears through the state department of education. In all legislation the courts have the final word to say. Therefore, there is a direct line from the courts to the schools. There might well be an arrow leading up from the state department to the legislature. This represents the state department's advisory service to the legislature which may result in legislation directly affecting the structure of the school system or the operation of the schools. Many state departments of education have functions not related to the public school system: for example, the responsibility for the censoring of moving pictures as illustrated by Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania; and the power to license various types of professional and vocational workers illustrated by New York and Pennsylvania.

Running down from the state department to the schools there are two types of relationship. The enforcement powers coming in at the top represent those areas in which the central agent has been assigned specific powers. The lines running into the side of the rectangle indicating the school districts represent the work that is done by the state department in the certification of teachers, the computation of state aid (structural maintenance service), and the advisory service. In these respects the state department of education is not superior to the school districts but, rather, acts as a service agency. When advice given under the stimulative advisory service is taken as an order, it is due to the confusion of the meaning of the principle "education is a state function."

This principle sometimes is invoked in support of proposals to centralize the operation of given functions. While the principle certainly places upon the state legislature a general oversight of the school system that will urge it to make changes in the educational pattern, there is nothing in the principle that says that central operation is superior to local operation. Those who favor central operation of the schools have no right to assume sanction from this principle per se. The decision as to whether given functions should be centrally or locally operated should be made in terms of other criteria, since both central and local operation are actually state operation.

What Legal Theory Omits

While the foregoing discussion represents the situation as rationalized in legal theory, it does not actually represent fully the true forces that go into the molding of a school. The legal theory provides the structural system in which the financing of schools, the selection of

staff, and the formulation of the general character of the curriculum are carried on, but the culture of the community from which children are drawn each morning and which is reflected in the human relationship habits of pupils and teachers is of tremendous importance in setting the patterns of human relationship that make up the school. For the vast mass of detail that goes to set the character of a school, both state officers and local administrative officers operate, if at all, by persuasion rather than by power. Taking all forces into consideration, Fig. 5

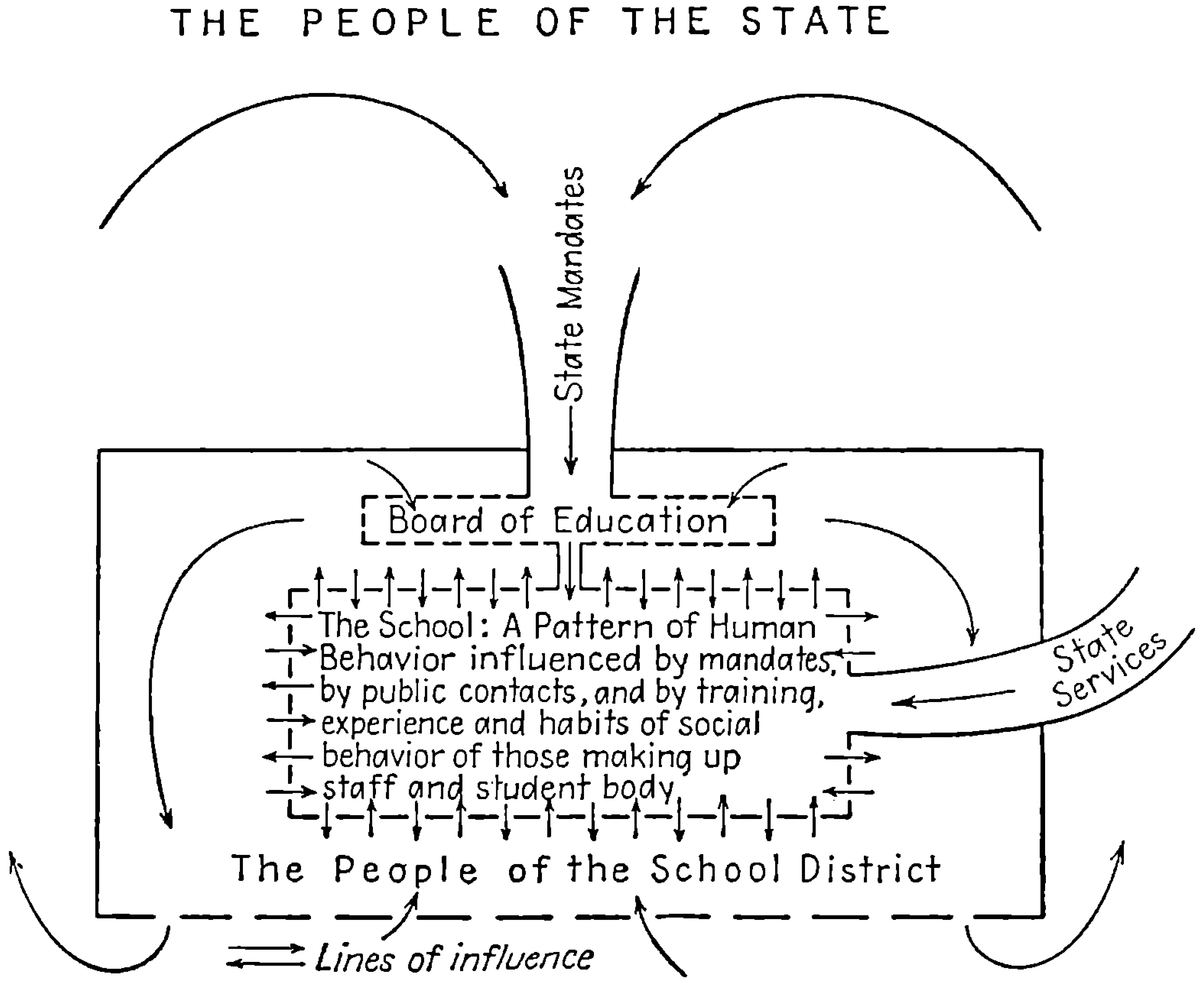

FIG. 5.—State and public influence on the school.

seems to be nearer the truth than Fig. 4. At least it is salutary for an administrator to look at schools from the angle of Fig. 5 from time to time so that he can be safeguarded from too much dependence on the somewhat unrealistic legal theory.

In support of the idea that a vast amount of what goes into the molding of the character of a school does not flow from the board of education or the state department, Westby's findings may be cited. He asked certain high-school principals and field superintendents in charge of elementary schools in a large city to indicate which of 101 specific things in a sampling of school practices they would be able to do without central office approval. The high-school principals indi-

cated that they had discretion over 89 of the items in their list; the superintendents that they had discretion over 95.[1]

In further support may be cited the practice of the courts in keeping their ears to the ground of public opinion while reading the statutes. Note, for example, the building up by the courts of what is practically home rule over curriculum, legal theory to the contrary notwithstanding. There is a splendid lesson in this for school boards and administrators.

Legal Theory and State Aid

The principle as sometimes invoked has demanded that the state legislature provide funds for the equalization of the burden of school support. Here again there seems to be nothing in the legal concept, per se, which favors central taxation for support as opposed to local taxation. If local taxation works satisfactorily it is still a satisfactory means of exercising the state's educational function. If it does not work satisfactorily, it is the responsibility of the legislature to establish a system of financing that will operate satisfactorily. The principle places the responsibility upon the legislature. It does not, per se, favor either central support or local support.

A wholesome point of view is to consider both central and local agents "state" agents. It then, in the long run, becomes a matter of choice between two state agents. Ritchie, in discussing the relation of government to the individual, reflects something of this point of view in the statement:

> The constant use of the term (interference) in discussions about the functions of government implies the false theory that all that the state gains the individual loses. But state interference may mean individual protection; the state may interfere in order to prevent some lesser body interfering.[2]

SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

Scope of School District Powers

But the confusion is not only on the side of those favoring central control of public education. There is confusion with respect to the scope of local powers as well as to the scope of central powers. For example, there is a rather general impression borne out by legislative acts that a school district may not be changed without the consent of the inhabitants of the district. A clear understanding of the principle

[1] Westby, Cleve O., *Local Autonomy for School Communities in Cities*, New York: The Metropolitan School Study Council, 1945.

[2] Ritchie, David G., *The Principles of State Interference*, pp. 94–95, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1902.

that education is a state function denies this. Obviously the school district as a structural unit is a creature of the state, not of the community. Local initiative does not begin until the structure is established. Local initiative exists only within the structure. The power to change school districts is therefore fundamentally a power of the creating agent, not a matter of local initiative.

This point is aptly stated as follows:

> It should not be forgotten that more fundamental even than the right of local legislative bodies to determine the amount of money that shall be spent for a particular purpose is the right of citizens to force rebuilding of the structure of their government when it has collapsed [1]

Finer states it even more forcefully:

> In all these three factors (area, executive freedom and time, place, and technological factors) the locality is not a rigid and final dispensation with inherent rights to a continued, unchangeable existence; it is an elastic institution, properly responding even when against the will of many of its citizens to the necessities of a dynamic civilization.[2]

The slow elimination of inadequate districts in the past can be laid in no small degree to this failure to see that the district is a creature of the state and that the power to change is by its nature a central function. This confusion has resulted in the passing of laws in most states permitting the people of an inadequate system to control the reorganization of their districts. It is of interest that in the only two Northern states that have universally attained large units—the states of Utah and West Virginia—the power to change districts was not left in the hands of the people of the districts, but rather in the hands of the county board of supervisors, in the first instance, and in the hands of the legislature in the other. The existence of such laws indicates that the people of most states have not taken interest in the important question of district organization but have tended to allow the state laws to be drafted in accordance with the wishes of those who had a selfish interest in the continuance of the present program.

This point applies to the reorganization of city districts as well as rural districts. Representatives of the cities have played too small a part in the reorganization of rural districts. Representatives of the rural districts have played too small a part in considering the need for change in the system of school government in their cities. As a result

[1] "Home Rule a Mockery in New York State," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 22, pp. 4–7, Jan. 1933.

[2] FINER, HERMAN, *English Local Government*, p. 17, New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.

we have vast numbers of inadequate rural districts and an antiquated system of controlling education (fiscal dependence) in many cities. The realization that the structure of the school system is a central and not a local function should go far in helping to correct the present intolerable conditions.

Legal Status of Home Rule

The loose thinking on district organization is doubtless partly due to a rather widely held misconception of home rule. Vast numbers of people do not look upon their schools as part of a state system. They think of action of the legislature as an invasion of their rights. However bad it may be, it is not this. They have a mistaken notion that local government, like state and national government, has the people for an independent foundation. The federal government is a government of all the people, utilizing the states for convenience, but actually resting upon the people themselves. The state government is a structure that reaches down to the same foundation as the federal government, but the supports are its own. Local governments, on the other hand, exist by the sufferance of the state government. Legally, they have no independent support but are suspended from the state structure. When we say that education is a state function, however, we do not say that education has no independent local support but rather that school districts are subdivisions of the state structure.

In a somewhat different sense municipal government is also dependent upon the state. It may be given a wide range of discretion as to the activities it will undertake, but this power derives from the state and not from the people locally. So it is not the principle that education is a state function that denies the validity of the widely held assumption that there are such things as fundamental local rights. Municipal government is chartered by the state; local school districts are created by the state. In each case the range of powers is specified. While, with the exception of those powers which have been given the federal government, the state is sovereign, the local government, even the most local form—the municipality—enjoys no sovereignty. The school district partakes of the state sovereignty but has none in its own right.

The notion of a fundamental right to home rule probably has its origin in the democracy principle. People believe that control should be kept as close to the people as possible. As states, therefore, they delegate to school districts as wide a range of control as they consider prudent. This is an exercise of the democracy principle and may at the same time seek to serve other principles such as adaptability,

flexibility, and prudence. As such it is a way of doing the job democratically. It is a way we like to do things, but, legally, both school districts and municipalities can only exercise powers specified or implied by law. This is paramount to saying that home rule does not spring from fundamental rights. This is quite different from the structural pattern that formerly prevailed in certain European countries according to which municipalities were permitted to exercise any powers not denied them by law. In a sense, before the First World War, the German municipality in relation to the state paralleled the relation of our states to the federal government.

Interestingly enough, the scope of leeway of the local school districts has not been uniformly interpreted by the courts. In the most important aspect of the work of the curriculum the courts have given local school districts practically a free rein so long as they comply with specific mandates as to what they must offer and what they may not offer. This is quite in contrast with the leeway on taxation, in which field the courts have ruled that there are no implied powers whatever. In between these two extremes—practically complete discretion with respect to curriculum and no discretion with respect to taxation—there are various gradations with respect to the scope of discretion. For example, in the provision of transportation the courts have recognized a minimum of discretion, whereas in the matter of utilization of school property the courts have allowed wide but by no means complete discretion.

Weaknesses from No Legal Home Rule Status

The question may seriously be raised as to whether or not this legal structure is a retarding influence. Perhaps there is something in this widespread belief in a sort of local sovereignty that should be recognized in our legal structure. This question becomes particularly pertinent when we study the means by which school systems adapt themselves to changing needs. Much of the advancement in public education has come from the assumption on the part of localities that some proposed new activity was good and that they had the right to tax themselves to support it. Thus came into our schools the public high school and the superintendent of schools. Strictly interpreted by a central officer, many activities in their first introductions in the schools would be considered outside the scope of powers specified or implied in the law. Our lack of thoroughgoing inspection has probably permitted many new adaptations to go through their experimental period and become so well established before they officially came to the attention of an officer empowered to question their legality that the

reviewing officer hesitated to denounce them. As in the Kalamazoo case, which established the legality of public high schools in Michigan, the courts found it easy to discover implied powers in the law that a state administrative officer at an earlier state of the adaptation might have hesitated to invoke.

Such activities are quite generally safeguarded now by the fact that new activities engaged upon are not customarily questioned by central officers but are allowed to go forward unless some taxpayer takes the case to court. The recent tendency to require central officers to preaudit budgets and to allow only those expenditures that they consider to be for specified or implied purposes may close the loophole by which we have escaped the potential evil of a strict interpretation of the "no home rule" principle. This, it will be noted, is quite as applicable to municipalities, which are local government, as to education, which is a state function.

There are, however, examples of general powers given central officers, which, though usually not invoked, might readily become the root of central interference. For instance, in Rhode Island the school boards are required to submit rules and regulations to the state director. Interpreted as the power of the director to veto on grounds of legality, or any other ground, this narrows the leeway of the school committee to that *predetermined* as legal (or wise) by the director. A similar provision that says the curriculum shall be determined by the school board and the director of education could be interpreted as hemming in local leeway for curriculum determination to an extent quite at variance with the court cases giving school boards powers in this area limited only by laws mandating or prohibiting specific subjects. Even when such provisions are actually not exercised, they stand as a threat over the local authorities and thereby limit freedom of action. Experience in American education is not without its parallels in other areas. Consider, for example, the situation in municipal affairs in France and Prussia early in this century as viewed by Ashby:

> And so, since they (local officials in France and Prussia) are bound to obey the central officials in a great number of matters, they become inclined to act in accordance with central ideas in all the questions with which they have to deal, even when some of these concern directly the localities alone.[1]

What we are saying is that the idea of "no home rule" is splendid so long as it does not interfere with a high degree of home rule. When we see local initiative being encroached upon, we find some sympathy

[1] ASHBY, EDGAR, "Regional Government, or the Next Step in Public Administration," *Journal of Public Administration*, Vol 7, pp. 365–375, Oct., 1929.

for the authors of the historical arguments that McBain, one of the most exacting American scholars who have dealt with the problem, called "a thin tissue of legal sophistication." McBain's summary of the historical arguments is as follows:

That municipal corporations in England were of common law origin, that their charters were a confirmation of existing rights and not a grant of wholly new rights; and that municipal corporations in the United States, being a development from similar institutions in England, must be conceived to be of similar origin.

That the institutional history of the American colonies discloses the fact that organized local governments either antedated organized central governments or that the two were synchronously established and ran parallel with each other; and that in consequence the "rights" of local government cannot be said to have sprung from the central government.

That at the time of the framing of the first state constitutions a system of local self-government was thoroughly understood and tolerably uniform; that these constitutions were framed with this system in view and with the expectation of its continuous existence.

That the right of local self-government is one of those rights embraced within the well-known reserve clause of constitutional bills of rights which declares that "this enumeration of rights shall not be construed to impair or deny others retained by the people."[1]

His appraisal of them is summed up as follows:

It seems reasonable to conclude that every one of the four arguments that have been advanced in support of the doctrine of an inherent right of local self-government is fatally defective in character. However salutary the application of such a doctrine might have been in the course of the evolution of relations between state legislatures and municipal corporations in the United States, it seems clear that upon careful analysis the entire line of reasoning by which it has been sought to be sustained is resolved into a thin tissue of legal sophistication.[2]

From the standpoint of legal logic the writer would not presume to question this. From the standpoint of what would be best for the educational system in the years ahead, we are at least permitted to speculate since the law, after all, is the creature of society. Seeking to justify home rule by historical argument is doubtless a form of rationalization. We may reject the argument and still see the possibility that there were practical conditions stimulating thinkers to marshal them. To one interested in the pragmatic test, the historical

[1] McBain, Howard Lee, "The Doctrine of an Inherent Right of Local Self-government," *Columbia Law Review*, Mar. and Apr., 1916, pp. 190–216, 299–300.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

argument appears to be the result of an attempt to answer the legal purist on his own ground.

Here are a few arguments for the delectation of the reader, if not for his enlightenment.

Robson gives a cogent reason for maintaining broad local powers:

> Above all, they (communities) need to be made to *feel free*, and not subject to the cramping restrictions of a legal principle quite unsuited to the requirements of modern local government looming in the background like a giant shadow. This principle of *ultra vires* often exerts a depressing influence over even those activities for which express permission has now been granted.
>
> How otherwise can we explain the fact that in Germany the municipality is very often the focusing point of all that is most valuable in the cultural life of the community? That in the sphere of music, the drama, opera, picture galleries, and museums the municipality exerts a vital influence for good? From the point of view of civic culture, no English town can compare with Dresden or Munich.[1]

This is the adaptability argument. It is such arguments that, insofar as they are sound, raise the question as to the adequacy of the present legal theory.

Whatever may be the need for a change in legal structure, there seem to be grounds for the point of view that the legalistic interpretation is in need of a human quality of interpretation. Such a point of view is reflected in the following statement:

> where the means taken by the state to achieve its purposes conflicts with the ideals of another group there are occasions when the state will find it wise to forego the claim of paramountcy. And, here again, the real fact involved is that of consent. No state can act in the face of the active opposition of any considerable portion of itself. No state will venture in practice to claim control over certain areas within the competence of other groups.[2]

Relationship with Municipal Government

In the relationship of the school district to the municipal government, particularly in cities and villages, there appear to be examples of every possible combination. The most prevalent means of setting up a local operating body is to make it separate and distinct from municipal government even when the school district and the city or village are coterminous. In such cases each governmental agency is independent of the other. Each may determine its own budget and

[1] Robson, William A., *The Development of Local Government*, pp. 232–233, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1931.

[2] Laski, Harold Joseph, *Authority in the Modern State*, p. 45, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1919.

establish its own policies without interference from the other. Typically, this has not been taken to the point of setting up two separate tax-collection agencies, but even this degree of differentiation is followed in some instances. More commonly, the board of education certifies to the municipal government tax-collecting agency the amount of taxes to be levied, and the tax-collecting agency levies the taxes, collects the funds, and turns them over to the board of education.

According to a second plan of procedure, a third body is set up as a reviewing body and is given power to pass upon both the educational and municipal budgets.

A third arrangement is to give the municipal government power to pass upon the educational budget, thus subordinating the educational system in greater or less degree to the position of a department in the municipal government. No example is known of the other possibility—to give the board of education power to pass upon the municipal government.

Often the existence of the final budgetary-reviewing body or the subordination of the school budget to municipal authorities comes as a result of a general property tax limitation. Where such a tax limitation exists it is necessary for someone to decide how the available funds shall be divided. This can be done by the state through the earmarking of part of the limit to the school board and part to the municipal government. This is followed in certain communities in Rhode Island. It may be done by the budgetary-reviewing body, as in the case of Oklahoma, Ohio, and the larger communities in New Jersey, or it may be done by giving the power of making the division to one of the two agencies concerned, as has already been noted. Wherever this plan has been followed the decision has been given to the municipal agency rather than to the state agency—the board of education.

This great variety of practice shows that there has been no single structural plan which has appealed to the people or to the courts as uniformly being the soundest. It is interesting, however, that in certain states the courts have decided that, even when the law gives the power to decide upon budgets to a reviewing body, such law is in conflict with the basic structural design sufficiently to justify the declaration that it is null and void. Such cases have arisen particularly in Kentucky and Connecticut.

It is of interest to look at this phase of structure as still in an evolutionary stage, away from the town-meeting control of a simpler era. Wherever control was originally in the town meeting, the people voting directly on matters of policy could express their will on municipal matters as they saw fit and could express their will on educational

matters as they saw fit. While they were probably rarely if ever conscious of a transition from one structural frame of reference to another, they were in the former case really operating as a municipal government and in the latter case as a state agency. As the more representative forms of organization were required by increased population, various ways of meeting the problem were faced. Municipal functions may have been divided among two or more boards with independent taxing power, or, as it developed more commonly, all the municipal functions were placed in a single governmental body. Almost universally, however, public education was placed under a separate board. Then came the various arrangements for adjusting the critical financial functions briefly outlined above.

Commonly we throw all the arrangements into two classifications: fiscal independence or fiscal dependence. As a matter of fact, in actual practice there is no simple dichotomy. The various arrangements that have developed may be scattered along a scale with complete fiscal independence at one end and complete fiscal dependence at the other.[1]

SEPARABILITY OF FINANCE AND CONTROL

From our discussion above it should be clear that whatever the organization of the school system, it is in all its parts a state school system. It is controlled by the people and financed by the people. The degree to which it is operated in local school districts is determined by a multitude of factors. By and large, we like to see as much power in the local communities as it is safe to give them, results considered. Today it is impossible to operate adequate schools locally without some degree of support collected by and distributed from a central agency. This follows from the fact that there are vast differences in the ability of school districts to support their schools. Requiring the communities themselves to support the schools results in inequities and in some cases actually denies adequate educational opportunities because of a lack of economic resources. The need for central support, then, flows from a set of considerations entirely different from those from which local control flows. To meet both these issues adequately, each must be considered in terms of the whole range of factors influencing it. The ultimate result will be a certain degree of local finance determined by one balancing of factors and a certain degree of local control determined by another balancing of factors. This total result will be a state school system financed and controlled by the people of the state

[1] Such a classification is illustrated by George W. Frasier, *The Control of City School Finances*, Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1922.

according to finance and control plans considered defensible in terms of those considerations determining each. In other words, insofar as the relation of the local agent and the central agent are concerned, the consideration of control is separable from the consideration of finance.

Accordingly, we may say that finance and control are independent of each other except insofar as they are affected by common determinants. To have control dependent upon finance is to deny the allocation of any large degree of control to school districts since economic conditions demand a marked degree of central finance. This is quite contrary to the notion pretty generally held that if the local district finances it can control, or if funds are raised by central agencies, central administrative agencies thereby automatically should be given the power to control. To oppose this point of view is not to say that those who finance do not control, for any division of finance between central and local agencies is simply an allocation within a given unit—the state school system.

Proponents of Nonseparability

To many students of the problem it does not appear this simple. Some assume that the governmental level that collects will inevitably control. Their argument is a pure and simple statement of this belief made in the face of extensive evidence to the contrary.[1] Such is the following statement by Brownlow:

> It is fundamentally true that the essential control of the administrative process is in the hands of him who holds the purse strings, and the vicissitudes of public finance during the past five years have completely altered the relationships of local, state, and federal governments with regard to poor relief.[2]

The Simple Truth of History. No less a body than the National Tax Association is on record with respect to this "simple truth of history":

> It is observable also that little attention has so far been given to the simple truth of history, that the power controlling the purse in the long run controls other things. Those who believe that a federal form of government is necessary for a country as large and as diverse in interests and conditions as the United States should not forget that increased economy and efficiency may be purchased at too great a price if the states are made in great degree dependent upon the Federal Government for the collection and distribution, whether by subventions, credits, or otherwise, of the revenue upon which they depend.[3]

[1] See Mort, Paul R., *Federal Support for Public Education, op. cit.*, pp. 3–5.

[2] Brownlow, Louis, "City Halls to Capitols," *State Government*, Vol. VIII, pp. 27–30, Feb., 1935.

[3] National Tax Association, *Second Report on a Plan of a Model System of State and Local Taxation*, pp. 66–67, Washington, D.C.: National Tax Association, 1933.

The Prudential Argument. Other writers rest the case on the prudential argument. Whatever history may say with respect to inevitableness of control following support, they believe it *should* follow support. Usually such persons are not content to leave the result to their alleged natural law. They want the control in the bond itself. Typical of this point of view is that expressed by Newcomer:

If state revenues are to be returned to the local districts it is desirable that some control should be exercised. For if these funds are not apportioned according to local need there is a very real danger that some municipalities, especially those whose local revenues are adequate, will spend the state funds carelessly, since these are revenues for which the local officials are not accountable to the local taxpayer. It is important, therefore, to hold these officials accountable to the state. This argues for the use of subventions rather than the distribution of the proceeds of specific taxes, since the amount of the subvention can be adjusted better to local needs.

State control would seem to be necessary accompaniment to the extension of state aid.[1]

A similar point of view is voiced by the English writer, Chapman, and the German writer, Schumpeter:

unless responsibility in spending funds is accompanied by responsibility in finding them, there is the risk of preventing anything satisfactory emerging.[2]

If you recognize that it is impossible, even if you wished, to regulate the life of municipalities systematically from one center, if you recognize, furthermore, that there is no sound finance policy where the responsibility for resources does not rest upon the same shoulders as the responsibility for expenses, then, out of these two premises, you come inevitably to the conclusion that any solution of the problem is doomed to failure if it evades the real point at issue and raises any other question than the one: How do we secure for the municipalities the freedom of action which they want?[3]

That the National Tax Association shows this prudential point of view is indicated by the following:

In providing for raising revenue the views of Washington will usually control; and in methods of distribution considerable control by federal authorities will, and indeed should, be exercised. Money collected by one government and then handed down to another does not get treated with the same

[1] NEWCOMER, MABEL. "Tendencies in State and Local Finance and Their Relation to State and Local Function," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 43, pp. 1–31, New York: Mar., 1928.

[2] CHAPMAN, SYDNEY J., *Local Government and State Aid: An Essay*, p. 33, London: S. Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1899.

[3] SCHUMPETER, JOSEPH, "Das Deutche Finanzproblem, Reich/Laender, Gemeinden," p. 10, Berlin, W.9: *Der Deutsche Volkswirt*, 1928.

care as the recipient exercises in spending money raised by its own taxes collected from its own people.[1]

Corporation Experience. There are also attempts to read into the interdependent relationship of state and local agents in a single state system principles that have been accepted in dealing with separate financial entities such as corporations. A suggestion made by the Regents Inquiry Commission appears to have this origin:

Wherever the state-supported proportion rises to 50 per cent or above, or to $160 per pupil, it seems desirable to introduce the possibility of a state veto to protect the interests of the state taxpayer who is, under such conditions, actually meeting a major part of the local costs.[2]

Signs of Uncertainty. But not all students of the problem have been satisfied with these arguments. Even though Newcomer, on occasion, uses the prudential argument as a sole premise, at other times she is plainly seeking for more adequate criteria. The following is illustrative:

The necessary outcome of this unequal distribution of revenues and expenditures is that the state must subsidize the local divisions or take over their functions, and it would be unfortunate if state governments, backed by lucrative income and corporation taxes, should take over local functions, not because the local governments have failed to perform these functions well, but because the local governments cannot pay. We congratulate ourselves on the state school systems which are replacing the varied educational standards fostered by local independence; we watch with complacency while the network of state and national highways spreads; but those who believe with Viscount Bryce that local self-government is the "school of democracy" cannot but deplore the increasing interference by central authorities in hitherto important local functions. When a function becomes of more than local concern it is essential that the state should at least control the performance of that function. There is a chance, however, that the state will interfere unnecessarily; because some educational reformers are impatient of the slow progress made by parsimonious country school boards; or because an occasional motorist, on crossing a county line, is irritated by the abrupt change from smooth pavements to ruts and mudholes. And if the state absorbs functions which the local governments can administer to everyone's satisfaction, merely because the state is in a better position to pay the bill, the desirability of the change is even more doubtful.[3]

[1] National Tax Association, *op. cit.* p. 67.

[2] Gulick, Luther H., *Education for American Life*, General Report of the Regents' Inquiry, p. 152, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938.

[3] Newcomer, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Similarly, the following statements from Hutchinson indicate a willingness to search for more pertinent criteria:

It might be more efficient to transfer some of these functions to the state for administration, in which case the jurisdiction which is most efficient in collecting the newer taxes would also be responsible for carrying out the increasing expenditures which are necessary. To transfer the expenditures merely because of inability to pay the bills seems to be a doubtful solution, and it can hardly be upheld if the political impracticability of it is considered, while so many people believe with Mr. Bryce that "local government is the school of democracy."[1]

Usually, however, the state-administered taxes replace some source of taxation taken from the locality. Further, the method lends itself to more and more state supervision, through reapportionment of the revenue according to the state's idea of need and through the establishment of minimum standards for the function for which the money is given. It is a movement to be watched, and studied, for the number of taxes so administered and returned is increasing, and the revenue from them is an increasing proportion of the total tax receipts. The state sees the local need, and is giving its assistance; but with this assistance goes interference. This particular type of state interference will be questioned by believers in home rule, for it usually involves rigid legislative interference rather than flexible administrative control.[2]

Proponents of Separability

At the other extreme are those who take a stand definitely for separability of finance and control. The following are examples from a French and an English writer, the latter, that staunch supporter of home rule through thick and thin—J. Toulmin Smith:

In truth, the main difficulty with local financing comes from the fact that the commune (municipal) or the department's fiscal system has stayed way behind the state's. Their local budgets continue to be fed through taxes over one hundred years old For 80 years, this old taxation system sufficed. But at the turn of this century we realized how inadequate these sources of revenue were to supply a modern state with the enormous resources it needs. We did bring about a general income tax, a business tax, etc. However, nothing has been changed in regard to local budgets whose sources of revenue continue to be a percentage based on old taxes kept at an arbitrary if not fictitious figure.[3]

What can be a greater check or restraint on any enterprise, or on the exercise of any energy, than the feeling that, before anything can be done, the

[1] Hutchinson, Ruth Gillette, *State-administered Locally-shared Taxes*, p. 27, New York: Columbia University Press, 1931.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132.

[3] Perchot, J., "La Question des Finances Locales," *L'etat Moderne*, pp. 17, 18, Paris: Jan., 1931.

opinion or consent of a distant and irresponsible body has to be obtained? Even where the institutions of local self-government have been imperfect, we have seen that progress has been made, and vast improvements worked out, by the energies of individuals. But when every proposition has to be submitted to a body unconnected with the interests of the spot, necessarily guided by certain speculative opinions, every individual energy and effort is most effectually chilled and discouraged. In no free country can the happiness or welfare of the community, or of a large number of the community, be allowed to depend upon the personal character of the individual who happens to be at the head of, or to have paramount influence in, any department. No man can call himself a "*law-worth*" man if the form which a particular branch of law shall assume can ever depend on the character of one or two men to whom its administration is entrusted. The "golden and straight metwand of the *law*" is a thing durable, changeless, and secure: the "incertain and crooked cord of *discretion*" is liable to every accident; unsafe, and unreliable, even for an hour.[1]

How It Adds Up

The present writer rejects the historical argument as inaccurate, the prudential argument as not sufficiently broad, although worthy of consideration insofar as it can be supported by empirical evidence in the field of education, and the private enterprise argument as discordant with the structural pattern of American public education. He holds with Hutchinson and Newcomer that the considerations are greatly varied, and from the considerations of the structural pattern of American education, concludes that Perchot and Smith are nearest the truth of the matter. In brief, he concludes that for public education the allocation of finance and control must be determined by independent considerations that will take into account not only prudence but all the other basic principles.

Need for Alertness

The notion that finance and control are not separable is so widespread in the public mind that educational workers must keep ever on the alert to safeguard public education from the results of it. We must keep in mind that to increase central support is no reason per se for increasing central control. The problem of determining a desirable pattern of control is not the simple one of counting the number of dollars raised by state-wide taxes.

The same problem arises when we consider federal support. If the people should decide to use their federal tax-collecting agencies in

[1] SMITH, J. TOULMIN, *Government by Commissions Illegal and Pernicious*, London: S. Sweet, 1849, 380 p.

order to obtain funds for some greater educational opportunity among the states, it does not follow that they must exercise a greater control through federal agencies. It might prove entirely defensible to provide for a large proportion of the support of public education to come from federally collected funds and at the same time to provide for the control of those funds through the state agencies of the people, central and local.

This is not an argument against centralization of control either in the state or federal government. It is simply an argument against a shift in control based on irrelevant issues. If the welfare of the schools, all things considered, can be better served by central control either in the state or federal government, we should face the question squarely, but face it as a problem of determining a pattern of control that will be efficient. We should not try to allocate control on some mathematical basis in terms of the relative fractions of our taxpayer dollars collected by our federal agents, our state agents, and our local agents.

COURTS AND STRUCTURE

The courts play a very significant part in the evolution of the structural pattern of education. Where there is a question of the meaning of a law, the courts ultimately decide. Where there is a question of constitutionality, the courts decide. Where there is a question of conflict between individuals and an institution, the courts stand ready to resolve it. In this process of adjudication in all sorts of controversies, the courts are given the opportunity of bringing the structural pattern, and to an important degree, the conceptual design of education, into alignment with a common-sense interpretation of the culture. However desirable an act may be from the standpoint of our conception of education; however well-drawn the law may be with respect to this concept; if it is sufficiently in conflict with other conceptual designs, either of other institutions or the rights of individuals, it stands to be brought into alignment by the courts. The courts, therefore, have played a very important part in the evolution of our school system and will continue to play an important part.

It should be understood that the courts are free to determine controversies in the light of their own best judgment. In thinking through situations they have a variety of tools: they have the common law; they have a set of legal principles that have grown up outside the written law; they generally have similar cases to refer to in the same state or in other states; they have some understanding of the prevalent conceptual design of public education; they have the requirements of

the general law and of the state and federal constitutions; and they have a "sense of the common sense of the culture."

In most states the chief state school officer is made a judicial officer for settling disputes within the school system. In some states there is a law providing that the judgment of the chief school officer is final in certain types of cases. Experience has shown, however, that the meaning of such legislation is the meaning that the courts give it, and the courts stand ready to accept cases for review where they believe the point at issue is one that should be settled by the court rather than by an administrative officer. The system of administrative justice within the school system itself serves mainly to keep the courts clear of a variety of minor cases, on the one hand, and to reduce the cost of litigation for persons who consider themselves aggrieved, on the other. To fail to see the courts as an integral part of the structural pattern of public education is to overlook an aspect of the greatest significance in that structure.

STRUCTURE IN FLUX

In recent years important changes have occurred in the structural pattern of public education through the resolution of conflicts between the old pattern and the interests of individuals and groups in the population. Some of the changes have come in the statutes, some in the constitutions, and some through court interpretations. An interesting example where all three have come into the picture is the recent change in New York State in regard to the granting of state aid for transportation of pupils to private and parochial schools. First, the legislature passed a law providing for such aid; second, the courts threw this law out as contrary to the constitution; third, the people of the state voted a constitutional amendment permitting such expenditures of public funds; finally, the legislature repassed a law providing for state aid.

There has been action in a number of other states indicating a conflict in the older concept of no aid of any form to private and parochial schools; for example, the Louisiana case, in which the United States Supreme Court reversed the highest Louisiana court on its decision that payment for textbooks in private and parochial schools out of public funds was unconstitutional. Not that this is entirely new; there have been provisions for attendance and health service to private and parochial schools for a long time. The whole movement was given a new spur by the difficulties in which private and parochial schools found themselves during the depression. It was also probably stimulated somewhat by the federal policy of granting National Youth Administration aid to boys and girls rather than to the school, bringing into

play the concept, somewhat new in our experience, that the aid should go to the child rather than to the school.

The federal Civilian Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration aid provided other challenges to the prevalent conceptual design for public education. They have brought into relief two facts—that equality of opportunity cannot be provided solely by providing free tuition, free textbooks, and free supplies; and that the secondary school, much as it has varied from the college preparatory school of 1900, has still a long way to go before it becomes, in fact, a people's college.

The conceptual design of public education has likewise been challenged by the important discoveries in the area of child development during the past 20 years and by the carrying over into adult life of the concept of education as the unfolding of the individual in a favorable environment rather than of preparation for life that is completed at some early age. The injunction, then, that present or proposed practice must be in line with the conceptual design and the structural pattern of the school system cannot be thought of as an injunction to check that practice against a static picture of the conceptual design or of the structural pattern. The school administrator must be as alert to the changes in these areas as to the discoveries in educational science and in the related fields influencing educational practice.

STATE SCHOOL CODE

The most interested parties to the modernization of the legal structure of the schools as expressed in the state school code are the officials concerned with the actual operation of schools—officials of local school systems. It has been the privilege of the writer to spend considerable time with a state commission analyzing the actual operation of schools within the framework of a school code and, in the light of this and of the principles dealt with in the preceding chapters, to suggest changes to eliminate unnecessary restrictions that have accumulated over the past century; to propose new prudential restrictions where they seemed needed; and to construct legal machinery designed to serve the purpose principles and at the same time to meet the demands of the humanitarian principles, the tempo group, and the prudential group. The state was a New England state so small that it was possible to observe actual operation in great detail. The proposed changes in the code are given as Appendix E, in the hope that the materials thus presented will serve as a sort of modern Osceola[1] for

[1] For the original Osceola Code, see Ellwood P. Cubberley, *The State and County Educational Reorganization*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918.

the guidance of present-day administrators who see fit to accept their responsibility for leadership in the development of state legal structures that will help realize more adequate education.[1]

SUMMARY

In setting up the metes and bounds of the powers of school districts, the following legal principles or issues come into play:

In Chap. XVIII it is recommended that those concerned with the administration of local school systems chart the metes and bounds of the powers of the school district. This involves the reading of the state school code and constitutional provisions and the examination of decisions of courts of last resort. Unhappily, it is not simply a matter of reading as one might read the instructions for operating some gadget.

It is a legal fact that education is a state function.

One of the most significant corollaries is that the board of education serves presumably in the interest of all the people of the state, not only in the local interests.

The legal fact that education is a state function does not give central agents of the state any line authority over local districts. The powers of central agents are specified powers. In many respects they are coordinate with boards of education.

The legal theory explaining the fact that education is a state function does not sufficiently encompass the actual power of the people locally in influencing their schools. This is recognized in practice by the courts and should be held in mind by local administrators in interpreting state law.

School-district reorganization provisions often make concessions to local interest to a degree that is not prudent, judged from the results achieved in modernizing school district organization.

In legal theory there is no such thing as home rule. In actual practice home rule plays an important part, over and beyond that legally provided for. The possible interference of this legal theory with adaptability of schools raises a question as to the emphasis it should be given in future structural change of state school systems.

The administrative relationships between public education and municipal government are so varied and the issues so confused in the public mind that it seems wise to consider this matter as one in need

[1] The analysis of the problems in the light of the operational, legal, and purpose principles appears in the two volumes of the Rhode Island Survey entitled *Schools for Our Children.* Volume I deals with finance; Vol. II with control. Report of the Commission on the Legal Structure of Rhode Island Public Education, February, 1942.

of the most careful study in terms not only of legal theory but also in terms of the common-sense principles directly and of purposes and empirical evidence on results achieved.

Advancement in the evolution of the structure of education demands the avoidance of the oversimplified association of finance and control. Each of these aspects of the structure should be subjected to independent appraisal.

The courts have played an extremely important part in the evolution of structure. Administrators have much to learn from the way in which courts operate. Administrative justice set up in the state department of education has an important part to play but cannot be considered as having a monopoly over justice.

At the present time the structure of public education is being subjected to serious strains by changes in functions of the schools and by changing conceptions on some of the ancient conflicts that a generation ago seemed to have been settled. The United States Supreme Court is playing a particularly active part in reshaping the structure of state school systems.

The most interested parties to the modification of state school codes to bring them into line with present needs are the officials concerned with the actual operation of schools.

Exercises

1. Examine the School Code for the State of New Osceola (Appendix E) with the purpose of discovering whether or not it overemphasizes some of our principles and underemphasizes others. In the light of these principles, compare it with the original Osceola Code (Cubberley, *The State and County Educational Reorganization*).

2. Criticize the foregoing chapter as an exercise in balanced judgment.

3. Check on the legal codes in your own state and outline the general limits of the powers of the local boards with specific attention to places where local boards have failed to assume or utilize power they hold by law.

4. What is the legal and practical relationship between the local school board and the municipal government in your own community? What arguments can be made for complete separation of municipal and school governments? Can you see any points of desirable cofunctioning?

5. What are the legal and practical relationships in your own state between:

   a. The state legislature and the state Office of Education
   b. The state Office of Education and the local board

6. What participation does the state Office of Education in your state take in local operation? (Distinguish between control, advisory functions, and services.)

7. Synthesize the presentation of the legal status of home rule given in this chapter. What practical implications for the local school administrator can you see?

8. The statement, "The power of the purse is the power that controls," has frequently been quoted by the opponents of state or national participation in the

financing of schools. Do you consider this a valid argument? A conclusive argument?

9. At what point should the state government invade the control commonly exercised by the local unit?

10. What factors may force changes in the present legal structure?

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APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF THE 101 PATTERNS OF EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE[1]

Window I. Teaching the Basic Skills

Pattern 1. *Using Pupil Interests in Teaching Basic Skills.* Discovering present pupil interests and using a variety of materials touching upon these interests to stimulate extensive reading, writing, discussion, and experience with numbers and quantitative symbols.

Pattern 2. *Teaching Basic Skills in Relation to Their Use.* Teaching basic skills as tools for everyday use in the solution of lifelike problems and the carrying out of lifelike projects and activities whose success will depend upon a knowledge of these skills.

Pattern 3. *Individualization in Teaching Basic Skills.* Using a variety of techniques and devices for teaching the basic skills through drill designed in terms of individuals and in terms of the skill needed.

Pattern 4. *Diagnosis in Teaching the Basic Skills.* Using tests, diagnostic devices and records for discovering individual and group needs that relate to teaching the basic skills.

Pattern 5. *Remedial and Refresher Courses.* Providing opportunities especially designed for those groups and individuals at every level in the school program whose performance in the basic skills indicates need for improvement.

Pattern 6. *Enrichment for the Able.* Enriching the teaching of the basic skills to meet the needs of those pupils who have very little difficulty in achieving average standards.

Pattern 7. *Study Techniques.* Teaching the techniques of study and research and the use of the library to develop in pupils habits of intelligent use of materials and time.

Pattern 8. *Speech Techniques.* Using the natural tendencies of children for talking, designing opportunities to develop these into proper patterns of speech, and diagnosing and correcting speech difficulties.

Pattern 9. *Informing the Public About New Procedures.* Informing parents and the public on the purposes of new procedures used by the modern school in teaching the basic skills.

Window II. Teaching the Basic Fields of Knowledge

Pattern 1. *Variety of Printed Materials.* Making use of a wide variety of reading materials from many different sources to answer questions, solve problems, develop interests, and to be used in study and research.

Pattern 2. *Variety of Concrete Sources of Information.* Making use of a variety of audio visual, manipulative, and concrete aids to learning of many different kinds and from many different sources.

[1] From *What Schools Can Do*, Metropolitan School Study Council, New York, 1944 (distributed by the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University).

Pattern 3. *Use of Community Resources.* Making use of the resources for knowledge that exist in community activities, agencies, and points of cultural importance, and in the knowledge and background of the people.

Pattern 4. *Background of Teachers.* Making use of the variety of experiences, training, and background of all members of the school staff.

Pattern 5. *The School as a Living Community.* Developing many real, productive work experiences in a lifelike setting which present real problems and situations that facilitate, motivate, and intensify the processes of learning.

Pattern 6. *Concrete Learning Activities.* Organizing learning activities in terms of concrete experiences and laboratory situations which explore fields of knowledge and draw upon such knowledge in the solution of problems.

Pattern 7. *Using Pupil Interests.* Using present pupil interests and needs to motivate the extension of interest into broader and more varied fields of knowledge.

Pattern 8. *Curriculum Organization.* Participation of staff, public, and pupils in evaluating and organizing the entire program of instruction.

Pattern 9. *Individual Curriculum Opportunities.* Providing individualized opportunities in the curriculum program to meet the particular needs of various groups of pupils.

Window III. Teaching Pupils to Think

Pattern 1. *Productive Services.* Letting pupils perform useful productive services about the school and in the community.

Pattern 2. *Lifelike Activities.* Letting pupils have experience in lifelike activities in school and classroom.

Pattern 3. *Active Investigation.* Having pupils study problems in many areas through active processes of investigation.

Pattern 4. *Pupil Participation.* Allowing pupils to participate in planning, carrying out, and evaluating the work of class, club, and school.

Pattern 5. *Creative Thinking.* Giving pupils opportunities to imagine solutions to varied types of problems.

Pattern 6. *Stimulating Materials.* Preparing and contrasting materials in such a way as to stimulate pupil thinking.

Pattern 7. *Stimulating Problems.* Selecting for discussion topics and problems that will stimulate pupil thinking, indicate modes of attack, and offer the opportunity of reaching a conclusion.

Pattern 8. *Formal Study of Thinking.* Putting some time on formal study of how sound thinking takes place.

Pattern 9. *Tools of Learning as Tools for Thinking.* Using the basic skills as tools for the solution of problems.

Window IV. Exploration of the Abilities of Pupils through Discovery and Measurements of Interests and Needs

Pattern 1. *Discovery of Aptitude through Testing.* Discovering aptitudes, needs, capacities, and interests of groups and individuals through specialized techniques like testing procedures, observation, records and reports, conferences, and case studies.

Pattern 2. *Discovery of Aptitude through Tryout.* Discovering aptitudes, needs, capacities, and interests of groups and individuals through a wide variety of activities and experiences in the school program.

Pattern 3. *Motivation through Interest.* Using present pupil interests, capacities, and needs to motivate the exploration of fields of study and activities new to the pupil.

Pattern 4. *Curriculum Organization around Areas of Interest.* Organizing the curriculum around many areas of interest to provide a thorough sampling of pupil abilities and life activities.

Pattern 5. *Artistic and Creative Activity.* Providing opportunities for wide exploration of individual talent and for much individual and group expression at every talent level in many creative fields.

Pattern 6. *Creative Art for Illustration and Promotion of Ideas.* Applying the principles and techniques of the creative arts to the illustration of ideas, the conveying of information, and improvement of the environment.

Pattern 7. *The Basic Skills of Creative Expression.* Providing opportunities for the development of the basic skills of creative expression through drill and similar techniques with groups and individuals.

Pattern 8. *Recreational Interests.* Providing varied pursuits to develop wide recreational interests of present and future importance.

Window V. Developing Character and Personality Adjustment

Pattern 1. *Information about Character.* Drawing upon books and pamphlets, biography and history, films and works of art; upon the experiences of others in talks and discussion; upon courses and formal study designed to furnish information that may aid in developing desirable attitudes and understandings.

Pattern 2. *Desirable Behavior in Practical Situations.* Giving pupils real practice in meeting the demands of life and in responding with desirable patterns of behavior under capable guidance in lifelike situations in school and community.

Pattern 3. *Enrichment of Pupil Experiences.* Providing a wide variety of activities and experiences for pupils at all levels to satisfy human needs for creative expression, to enrich personality through development of interests, and to stimulate healthful emotional growth.

Pattern 4. *Pupil Participation.* Recognizing the pupil as a contributor and cooperator, on his own level, in planning the school regulations under which he must live and in carrying on those activities that affect him.

Pattern 5. *Human Relations between Adults and Pupils.* Letting teachers, supervisors, and parents exemplify desirable character traits in thought and attitude and in their daily relations with others.

Pattern 6. *Coordination of the Home and Community with the School.* Coordinating the efforts of the home and the community with those of the school as a composite program in character development.

Pattern 7. *Individual Problems of Adjustment.* Analyzing individual problems of adjustment through testing and observation, and treating these through the use of specialists and regular teaching staff.

Pattern 8. *Planning for Character Development.* Organizing the whole-school program with regard to its effect on the character growth and personality adjustment of individuals of differing capacities and different levels of development.

Pattern 9. *Devices for Developing Specific Character Traits.* Making use of carefully thought out procedures for developing specific traits of character where needed with individuals and groups.

Window VI. Health and Safety

Pattern 1. *Health Examination.* Securing adequate physical and mental health examination of pupils and pre-school children.

Pattern 2. *Treatment and Correction.* Securing correction, treatment, and follow-up of physical and mental health defects.

Pattern 3. *Health and Safety Instruction.* Providing school-wide opportunities for instruction in the principles of health and safety.

Pattern 4. *Practice of Health and Safety for Pupils.* Utilizing the services of pupils in improving conditions of health and safety in school and community; and providing opportunities for the continual practice of healthful, safe behavior.

Pattern 5. *Healthful Environment.* Providing a school environment that permits healthful living in surroundings that are sanitary and safe.

Pattern 6. *Services of Outside Agencies.* Securing and developing the services of all community agencies contributing to the health and recreational needs of pupils.

Pattern 7. *Coordination of the Home.* Making the home an agency coordinate with the school in promoting the happiness and health of children.

Pattern 8. *Program of Sports and Recreation.* Providing a wide variety of recreational and physical activities suitable for all pupils at every age level and for every ability.

Pattern 9. *Guidance and Character Development through Physical Education.* Providing through recreation, physical education, and athletics for the development of qualities of character, sportsmanship, citizenship, and leadership; and the exercise of guidance functions by the health and physical education staff.

Pattern 10. *Staff and Facilities.* Providing ample equipment and an ample staff for instruction, examination, treatment, follow-up, record making, and coordination bearing upon the health and safety of children.

Pattern 11. *Public Information and Participation.* Informing the public about the health, physical education, and safety program and securing participation and cooperation of the public in its development.

Window VII. Planning and Organization of Curriculum for Home Competence

Pattern 1. *Curriculum Organization.* Using public as well as staff participation in the planning and organization of an appropriate school-wide program to develop competence in home management and responsibility in home living.

Pattern 2. *Home Economics Laboratory.* Developing skills in foods, clothing, child care, home management, and social living through practical experience with concrete equipment and procedures.

Pattern 3. *Productive Learning.* Using productive, real situations which occur in the normal life of school and community to teach the skills and responsibilities of home competence.

Pattern 4. *Variety of Materials.* Using varied kinds of printed pamphlet, pictorial, and illustrative material as a source of information in developing home competence.

Pattern 5. *Improving Potentialities of Home and Community.* Using the schools' personnel to make individual home contacts and securing the coop-

eration of parents and other laymen in improving the potentialities of home and community as an environment for child growth.

Window VIII. The World of Work

Pattern 1. *Organization and Adequacy of Program.* Providing opportunities for information, tryout, experience, and development of skill covering all important occupational areas in order to meet the needs of a great variety of aptitudes.

Pattern 2. *Occupational Information.* Orienting pupils to the world of work through the use of all available sources of information.

Pattern 3. *Correlation of Subject Matter.* Adapting the course teaching of various subject-matter areas to conform to the needs of pupils preparing for competence in varied vocational fields.

Pattern 4. *Occupational Laboratory.* Setting up and using equipment in the school for the development of basic work skills and experiences.

Pattern 5. *Practical Working Experiences Provided by Productive Jobs.* Using real productive jobs about the school and in the community that develop skills, habits, attitudes, and responsibilities for real work.

Pattern 6. *Enriching and Exploratory Activities.* Providing a rich variety of activities of all kinds for the exploration and development of vocational and cultural interests and aptitudes in many fields and in many directions.

Pattern 7. *Individualization and Flexibility of Program.* Organizing the school system and the vocational program in such a way that unusual needs may be met: emergency or immediate situations, changing conditions, specific or unique requirements of an individual or group.

Pattern 8. *Guidance, Placement, and Follow-up.* Providing staff and facilities for a completely individualized program of vocational guidance, aptitude testing, survey of community resources for vocational training, and continuing contact with former students.

Pattern 9. *Cooperation of the Public.* Using the public as a source of ideas and as a provider of facilities and services in planning the work program.

Window IX. Developing Civic Competence

Pattern 1. *Useful Productive Activities.* Using productive activities in school and community which pupils appreciate the need for and share responsibility for as real experiences in modes of civic behavior.

Pattern 2. *Activities in the School Patterned after Adult Institutions.* Borrowing from existing adult forms of social and political action to provide practical experiences in those modes of civic behavior which pupils will later use.

Pattern 3. *Creative Planning by Pupils.* Using pupils as a source of ideas for the improvement of present civic conditions and using procedures permitting pupil evaluation of society.

Pattern 4. *Dealing with Live Problems.* Providing practice in developing an awareness of and in dealing with live problems through discussion techniques.

Pattern 5. *Cooperative Group Action.* Providing practice in dealing with live problems through techniques of cooperative action.

Pattern 6. *Knowledge and Understanding for Free Men.* Using all available sources of civic and social knowledge: books, magazines, pamphlets, reports, visual aids, and direct contact with citizens and elected officials.

Pattern 7. *The Teacher as Observer and Guide in Civic Development.* The teacher as observer, guide, counselor and planner in developing individuals who will take their places as responsible citizens.

Pattern 8. *The Public as a Resource in Planning.* Using the ideas of the public, as well as of the staff, in planning the program of civic education.

Window X. Regard for the Individual

Pattern 1. *What the Teacher Does.* Procedures of the classroom teacher in providing rich experiences for the group and in understanding and working with individuals.

Pattern 2. *What the Specialist Does.* Providing and organizing the kind of specialist services necessary to analyze and take care of individuals and the needs of particular groups.

Pattern 3. *Special Tools and Techniques.* Providing those special tools and techniques that are necessary in assisting teachers in finding out about individuals and the kind of organization that will assure their proper use.

Pattern 4. *What Administration Does.* Providing through administration and leadership those adjustments necessary to effect a whole-school organization designed to permit maximum realization for each individual.

Pattern 5. *What the Home and Community Do.* Coordinating the efforts of the home and community along with those of the school in providing opportunities for maximum self-realization for each individual.

Window XI. The School and the Community

Pattern 1. *Informing the Public.* Procedures for raising public understanding of the power of education through informing the public.

Pattern 2. *Participation of the Public.* Using the ideas and cooperation of the public in improving the educational program.

Pattern 3. *Enriching the School Program through the Services of Laymen.* Using all interested and willing laymen who are capable of working with pupils and who are well informed in certain areas to provide pupils with additional experiences in these areas.

Pattern 4. *Using the Community as an Extension of the School Plant.* Coordinating all community resources, agencies, and physical facilities as part of the educational experience of pupils.

Pattern 5. *Leadership in Changing the Culture of the Community.* Including the school among those agencies of the community whose planning and mutual interaction may lead to the improvement of patterns of community life.

Pattern 6. *School Serving the Community.* The staff, plant, pupils, and school program performing useful community services and participating in community life.

Pattern 7. *Community Services to the School.* Community agencies performing services useful to the school and providing facilities that influence the growth of pupils.

Pattern 8. *Coordination of the Home with the School.* The home and the school actively coordinating their influence on the growth of the child through the consultation of parents and school personnel.

Window XII. The Staff

Pattern 1. *Professional Characteristics of Teachers.* Securing a staff whose training, education, professional experience, experience in activities and jobs outside the profession, background, and personality meet those required of good teachers and whose professional improvement continues through travel, professional courses, professional investigation and publication, and professional status and membership.

Pattern 2. *Conditions of Employment.* Providing the rewards for service which permit desirable continued growth, security, and those working conditions which are fair to teachers and at the same time encourage them to give better service.

Pattern 3. *The Teacher as a Citizen.* Emphasizing the teacher as a participant in extraprofessional activities in the community.

Pattern 4. *Activities of the Staff in Interpreting the School to the Public.* Using the services of teachers and teachers' organizations to interpret the school program to the public and to portray to the public the further realization of what better schools could do.

Pattern 5. *Improving the Educational Potential of Home and Community.* Securing through the efforts of the staff the cooperation and coordination of agencies outside the school that come in contact with the growth of pupils.

Pattern 6. *Extension of Staff and Plant through Coordination and Development of Community Resources.* Using the lay personnel of the community to supplement the services of teachers in providing an enriched program, and the physical facilities of the community to expand and enrich educational experiences.

Pattern 7. *Extension of School Services.* Making the services of the school available for a wider part of the community population, covering a greater portion of the day, and offering services to pupils covering a greater proportion of the day and year.

Pattern 8. *Cooperative Planning of the School Program.* Using the whole staff in planning cooperatively the whole school program to secure curricular development, enriched opportunities for pupils, extended school services, and thorough utilization of community.

Pattern 9. *The Teacher in the Classroom.* Using available resources, organizing materials, and administering the classroom to secure optimum development of the individual pupil.

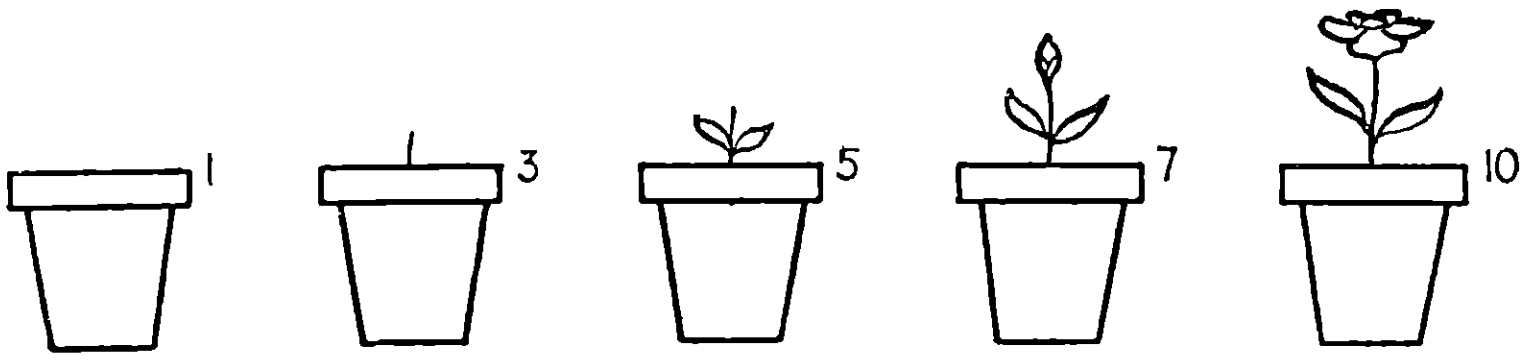
Pattern 10. *Professional Specialists.* Providing professional specialists who can offer services to pupils facilitating their general all-round growth, and who can offer services to the general school staff in improving the quality of their educational efforts.

Pattern 11. *Materials, Equipment, and Supplies.* Providing materials, equipment, apparatus, and supplies in adequate quantities to permit teachers to meet the needs of all groups and individuals.

APPENDIX B

GUIDE FOR THE USE OF WHAT EDUCATION OUR MONEY BUYS AS AN APPRAISAL INSTRUMENT

The measure called for by Table 9, page 79 is obtained by appraising the schools in terms of the 39 patterns described in *What Education Our Money Buys* (New York Educational Conference Board, 152 Washington Ave., Albany, N.Y.). Locate the pattern in the above document and decide on one of the three descriptions given which best describes your school. Then note which device is used to characterize the description in the corresponding summary table in the document. Allow the following numerical equivalents:



If your school is better than any description given, add one or two to the score corresponding to the description of highest value appearing in the text. For example, if the highest valued description is indicated as a bud and your school is considerably better, give it 8 or 9; if the highest valued description is indicated as a flower and your school is considerably better, give it 11 or 12.[1]

In applying this measure separate scores may be made for elementary and secondary schools, if desired. In communities within large cities or communities served by outside public schools or services, give credit for the services regularly obtained outside the immediate community.

[1] If there are no signs of any beginnings, score it 0.

APPENDIX C

SUPERINTENDENT'S LIBRARY

A. General Works on School Administration:

CUBBERLEY, ELLWOOD P.: *Public School Administration*, rev. ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929.

EDMONSON, J. B., J. ROEMER, and F. L. BACON.: *The Administration of the Modern Secondary School*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941.

ENGELHARDT, FRED: *Public School Organization and Administration*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931.

MOEHLMAN, ARTHUR B.: *School Administration*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940.

OTTO, HENRY J.: *Elementary School Organization and Administration*, rev. ed. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1944.

REEDER, WARD G.: *Fundamentals of Public School Administration*, rev. and enlarged ed. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941.

B. Special Aspects of Education Pertinent to the Activities of the Administrator:

BARR, A. S., WILLIAM H. BURTON, LEO J. BRUECKNER: *Supervision; Principles and Practices in the Improvement of Instruction*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1938.

CASWELL, HOLLIS L., DOAK S. CAMPBELL: *Curriculum Development*, New York: American Book Company, 1935.

DEWEY, JOHN: *Democracy and Education*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923.

Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, *Education and Economic Well-Being in American Democracy*, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1940.

Educational Policies Commission, National Educational Association, *Education for All American Youth*, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1944.

Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, *The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy*, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1938.

ELSBREE, WILLARD S.: *The American Teacher*, New York: American Book Company, 1939.

ENGELHARDT, N. L., and FRED ENGELHARDT: *Public School Business Administration*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927.

GATES, ARTHUR I., A. T. JERSILD, T. R. McCONNELL, and R. C. CHALLMAN: *Educational Psychology*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942.

HAMILTON, ROBERT R., and PAUL R. MORT: *The Law and Public Education*, Chicago: Foundation Press, Inc., 1941.

LEONARD, JOHN PAUL, and ALVIN C. ENRICH: *An Evaluation of Modern Education*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1942.

Michigan Department of Public Instruction, *What Does Research Say*, *Bulletin* 308 of the Department, Lansing, Mich.: Department of Public Instruction, 1937.

MORRISON, HENRY C.: *The Curriculum of the Common School*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940.

MORT, PAUL R., and FRANCIS G. CORNELL: *American Schools In Transition*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941.

———: and WALTER C. REUSSER: *Public School Finance*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941.

NEWLON, JESSE H.: *Educational Administration as Social Policy*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.

NORTON, JOHN K., and MARGARET ALTUCKER NORTON: *Foundations of Curriculum Building*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1936.

PRALL, CHARLES E., and C. LESLIE CUSHMAN: *Teacher Education in Service*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1944.

SMITH, HARRY P.: *Business Administration of Public Schools*, Yonkers, N.Y.: World Book Company, 1929.

C. Standard Educational Reference Books:

BUROS, O. K., Editor: *Mental Measurements Yearbook*, New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1938.

MONROE, WALTER S., Editor: *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941.

RIVLIN, HARRY N., and HERBERT SCHUELER, Editors: *Encyclopedia of Modern Education*, New York: The Philosophical Library of New York City, 1943.

D. Bibliographic Utensils:

ALEXANDER, CARTER: *How to Locate Educational Information and Data*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935.

Book Review Digest, New York: The H. W. Wilson Company (Monthly and cumulative service).

Child Development, Abstracts and Bibliography, Washington, D.C.: National Research Council (Six numbers per year, February through December).

Educational Abstracts, New York: Abstracts Associates, Inc. (Monthly).

Educational Index, New York: The H. W. Wilson Company (Monthly and cumulative service).

GOOD, CARTER V., A. S. BARR, and DOUGLAS E. SCATES: *The Methodology of Educational Research*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1938.

MONROE, WALTER S., and MAX D. ENGLEHART: *The Scientific Study of Educational Problems*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936.

Psychological Abstracts, Lancaster, Pa.: American Psychological Association, Inc. (Monthly).

World Almanac and Book of Facts, New York: New York World-Telegram (Annual).

E. Periodicals:

American School Board Journal, Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Company (Monthly).

The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, Washington, D.C.: National Association of Secondary School Principals, National Education Association (Monthly, Oct. to May).

Educational Digest, Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Education Digest (Monthly, Sept. through May).

Educational Administration and Supervision, Baltimore, Md.: Warwick and York, Inc. (Monthly, Sept. to May).

Educational Leadership, Washington, D.C.: Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association (Monthly, Oct. through May).

The Educational Record, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education (Quarterly).

Journal of Educational Research, Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press (Monthly, Sept. to May).

National Educational Research Bulletin, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association (Quarterly).

The Nation's Schools, Chicago: The Nation's Schools Publishing Company (Monthly).

Proceedings of the Annual Conference of Administrative Officers of Public and Private Schools, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Department of Education (Annual).

Review of Educational Research, American Educational Research Association, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Association, National Education Association (Five times yearly).

The School Executive, Orange, Conn.: American School Publishing Corp. (Monthly).

APPENDIX D

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CODE OF GREEN WILLOWS, NEW YORK

Part 1 gives notes summarizing the set of rules and regulations of the Board of Education of Green Willows, N.Y., which appears as Part II of this supplement. A listing by subject of other provisions frequently occurring in sets of board rules and regulations appears in Part III. Green Willows is a community with a population of 10,000.

PART I. SUMMARY OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF GREEN WILLOWS, NEW YORK

The preamble represents an attempt to revive a delightful and highly useful custom of our forefathers. They were not averse to stating their purposes. Our generation has become too much addicted to writing down just the bare bones of legislation. A board may well spend some time in writing a preamble of its own.

Article I brings together the laws concerning the functions of the district meeting with respect to finance. It seems to the writer that including this will help the public to get a keener realization of its responsibility. It might be desirable to add here the electorate's functions with respect to bond issues.

Article II deals in similar manner with the election of officers.

Article III does little more than put present practice on paper. Perhaps its most important provision is the recognition of the demarkation of the functions of the secretary of the board as such.

Article IV defines the duties of various officers and defines the customary legal position of an individual board member. It also brings up the matter of the individual board of education playing a part in the ongoing development of the state's educational structure.

Article V attempts to set up clearly the legislative function of the board as opposed to its administrative function.

Article VI establishes how the board should operate as an administrative body as opposed to a legislative body. Note that this article eliminates standing committees.

Article VII is a brief statement of law and regulation with respect to pupils and parents. For the most part it is believed that most other items affecting pupils and parents should be matters of administration rather than legislation.

Article VIII, Sec. 1, gives a highly important provision with respect to the superintendent of schools, making for stability of the educational program. Section 2 is in accordance with present law.

Article IX. The recommendations in this article, perhaps more than any other, will free the board of education from detail work and at the same time ensure a greater realization of the democratic principles operating under home rule. The former is achieved through mechanizing the methods of purchasing and payment of bills associated with an audit; the latter is brought about by making the budget a channel for consideration of the unfolding educational policy in the minds of board, community, and staff.

The budget as finally adopted should represent a considered weighing of the elements of an unfolding educational program as related to the interests of the public and employed personnel. It should represent what they agree upon as feasible during the ensuing year in the realization of the objectives in which they are interested. It should represent their agreements as to what facets of the program should be developed farther and what steps should be deferred. The tentative budget should, therefore, represent the drawing together by the superintendent of schools of the educational ideals, interests, and objectives of the community into what is considered a feasible plan of procedure. After the board of education receives the tentative budget, this process should go on. In weighing the considerations that have gone into the tentative budget, the board of education will be performing one of its most important tasks. In presenting these considerations at the public meeting, it will perform another one of its most vital tasks.

Part II. Administrative Code of the School District of Green Willows, New York

PREAMBLE

In conformity with its functions as a state agent, as defined by the state legislature pursuant to provisions of the state constitution, the purpose of the board of education shall be to provide education of the highest feasible character for the residents of this district, taking into account the wishes of the people of the district, their ability and willingness to pay taxes, and the basic interests of the people of the entire state, whom the board legally represents.

In expressing its broad legal powers over the scope and character of education in this district, the board believes that the educational program provided should adequately care for the development of skills in the tools of learning and the arts of communication; the instilling of understanding of the world as it is and of man's efforts to achieve mastery over his own destiny; the strengthening in each young person of his intellectual powers to cope with his environment and serve with his fellows; the development of skills and understandings that will contribute to successful home life; the development of understandings and skills making for economic self-reliance and for prudent use of money; the development of understandings and skills making for successful and creative citizenship in community, state, and nation; and the schooling of emotions and habits of dealing with others promising to strengthen personality and character.

Mindful of the fact that this community has employed and can continue to employ school personnel carefully selected from those who have been not only well trained but also tested and tempered in the crucible of experience, the board of education states it as its intent to be diligent in the development of ways and means whereby these able people may be used to the best advantage, not only in operating the schools according to the policies adopted, but also as professional experts and interested citizens in their own right in the processes of developing these policies.

The board of education is impressed by the evidence that good education has always resulted from close working together of public-minded citizens both within and outside of the schools.

Article I. District Meetings

1. The annual meeting of the school district shall be on the first Tuesday in May.

2. (Legal qualifications.)

3. The chief matter of business at the annual meeting shall be a consideration of the amount of money to be raised by taxes for the school district for the succeeding year. The budget shall be presented by the board of education, and time shall be given for an explanation of its character by members of the board of education, the superintendent of schools, and such other persons as the board may designate.

4. After the presentation of such statement or estimate, the question shall be taken upon voting the necessary taxes to meet the estimated expenditures, and when demanded by any voter present the question shall be taken upon each item separately. The inhabitants may increase the amount of any estimated expenditures or reduce the same, except for teachers' wages and the ordinary contingent expenses of the schools (Education Law).

5. If the inhabitants shall neglect or refuse to vote the sum estimated necessary for teachers' wages, after applying thereto the public-school moneys and other moneys received or to be received for that purpose, or if they shall neglect or refuse to vote the sum estimated necessary for ordinary contingent expenses, the board of education may levy a tax for the same, in like manner as if the same had been voted by the inhabitants (Education Law).

6. The board of education shall have power to call special meetings of the inhabitants of the district whenever it deems it necessary and proper (Education Law).

Article II. Elections

1. The board of education shall consist of seven members who shall serve for a term of seven years. The term shall be overlapping, one member being elected each year.

2. Each member of the board of education must be a resident and a qualified voter in the school district, and the removal of any member of the board from the district shall automatically create a vacancy in his office (Education Law).

3. Board members shall be elected by ballot on the first Wednesday of May, between the hours of 4 and 9 P.M. at a designated school building.

4. The ballot shall carry the names of all nominees listed alphabetically and without titles.

5. Nomination for school board membership shall be made by petition of not less than 25 qualified voters of the district, said petition to be filed with the district clerk not less than five days before the date of election.

6. It shall be the duty of the district clerk to secure tellers and inspectors, subject to the approval of the board of education.

7. It shall be the duty of each member of the board of education to attend all meetings of the board, and if any member shall refuse to attend any three successive meetings of the board after having been regularly notified and if satisfactory cause for his nonattendance is not shown, the board may proceed to declare his office vacated (Education Law).

8. In the event of the death, resignation, refusal to serve, or any disqualification of a board member, the board at its next regular meeting may elect a new member to fill such a vacancy unless a separate election shall have been ordered for that purpose by the commissioner of education, or unless such election shall be postponed to a subsequent meeting of the board by consent of a majority of all members present. Such election shall be by majority vote of all members present at such meeting (Educational Law).

9. Any such vacancy filled by election by the board shall be only for a term ending with the next annual meeting of the school district at which time such vacancy shall be filled in a regular manner for the balance of the unexpired term (Education Law).

10. Under the supervision of the superintendent of schools, the census taker shall prepare a list of all residents of the community, giving such information as will indicate their eligibility to vote in the school elections.

Article III. Board Organization and Meetings

1. The annual meeting of the board of education shall be held at the board office on the first Tuesday in July unless said day shall be a legal holiday, in which event the meeting shall be held on the following day.

2. The annual meeting shall be called to order by the secretary. After the election of a member of the board as temporary chairman, the board shall proceed to the election of a president who shall immediately become chairman. The board shall then elect a vice-president, secretary, treasurer, district clerk, counsel, and auditor. After determination of the date and time for regular monthly meetings, the annual meeting shall adjourn.

3. If any person other than a member of the board is elected as secretary to the board, election shall be on nomination of the superintendent of schools.

4. The secretary of the board shall send written notices of all meetings, with the probable agenda, to all members of the board and to the superintendent of schools at least three days before the date of such meeting.

5. All meetings of the board except those provided for in Sec. 8 of this article shall be held in the board room. Three or more members of the board shall constitute a quorum. Should there be less than three members of the board present at a regular meeting, a time for the adjourned meeting should be set by the members present, and such adjourned meeting shall be deemed a regular meeting.

6. Unless changed by a majority vote, the order of business at each regular and adjourned meeting of the board of education, other than the annual meeting provided for in Sec. 1, and meetings called in accordance with Sec. 9 of this Article shall be as follows:

a. Reading of the minutes of the last meeting.
b. Report of the treasurer.
c. Report of the superintendent of schools.
d. Communications.
e. Unfinished business.
f. New business.
g. Adjournment.

7. A special meeting may be called by the president by giving notice in writing to each member of the board and to the superintendent of schools at least three days preceding the date of such special meeting. The president shall call a special meeting at the request of two members of the board or of the superintendent of schools.

8. At least two meetings of the board each year shall be for the purpose of considering some phase of policy pertaining to education. The superintendent of schools shall serve as an advisor to the board in organizing such meetings and shall be present in order to participate in the discussion. On vote of the board, con-

curred in by the superintendent of schools, such meetings may be held elsewhere than in the board room. A small number of staff members and members of the public may be invited to participate. On vote of the board at any regular or adjourned meeting, a regular meeting date may be set aside for the purposes mentioned above.

9. A majority vote of all members of the board present at any meeting shall be necessary for the election of officers or for any other action by the board unless otherwise specified by law or in these regulations. The ayes and nays on any vote shall be recorded whenever any member of the board present shall request it.

10. At the request of the board the president shall appoint committees for special purposes. These committees shall be discharged on the completion of their assignments. The president of the board and the superintendent of schools shall be ex officio members of any such committees.

Article IV. Duties of Board Officers

1. The president shall preside at all meetings, shall decide questions of order in accord with *Robert's Rules of Order*, and shall appoint all committees unless otherwise directed by the board. He shall have the right, as other members of the board, to offer resolutions, to discuss questions, and to vote thereon.

2. The president shall be an ex officio member of all committees.

3. The president shall act as temporary chairman of the annual district meeting and special district meetings.

4. The president shall call a special meeting of the board whenever he or the superintendent of schools considers it necessary or when requested by two members of the board to do so.

5. In the absence of the president, the vice-president shall perform the duties and have the obligations of the president.

6. The secretary of the board shall attend meetings of the board and keep a record of the proceedings.

7. The secretary of the board shall furnish each member of the board and the superintendent of schools a copy of the minutes of each regular or special meeting within 6 days after said meeting.

8. No member of the board of education, by virtue of his office, shall exercise any administrative responsibility with respect to the schools.

9. The secretary of the board of education, by virtue of his office, shall exercise no administrative responsibility with respect to the schools other than those specifically designated in this article or in the New York State School Law.

10. No board member as an individual may command the services of any school employee.

11. The board shall cooperate through the state school board association and other educational agencies in the continued improvement of the structure of the New York State school system.

Article V. Board Legislation

1. Any amendment of this advisory code shall require a majority vote of all the members of the board at a meeting in the call for which the purpose of considering change has been announced.

2. An amendment shall not take effect until it has had the endorsement of the board at a meeting held not less than one month after the original action.

3. The operation of no part of this code may be suspended except by a unanimous vote of all members of the board at a meeting in the call for which intention to consider suspension of the rule is announced.

4. This code shall have the effect of state law and shall be administered by the superintendent of schools in ministerial capacity.

5. The application of this code shall be the duty of the superintendent. Any appeal to the board of education from such application will be to the board as a legislative body rather than as an executive body.

6. The superintendent shall report to the board as a legislative body from time to time on the operation of this code and shall be expected to propose any changes he may consider salutary.

7. The secretary of the board shall keep a separate register of all changes in this code and rules and regulations passed by the board under authority of this code.

Article VI. Administration

1. All action by the board, legislative or administrative, shall be by the board as a unit.

2. The administration of the schools in all their aspects shall be under the direct administration of the superintendent of schools operating in ministerial capacity with respect to legislation passed by state agencies or by the board of education, and in executive capacity with respect to policies agreed upon by the board in consultation with the superintendent.

3. The superintendent of schools, after consultation with interested persons, shall present to the board a plan for the administration of the schools, setting out clearly the methods of procedure to be used in the formulation of the budget; for requisitioning, ordering and payment for supplies, equipment and special services; for the maintenance of plant; for the operation of plant; for the selection of teachers; for the operation of the supervisory program; for the transportation of pupils; for internal administrative methods; for methods of handling suggestions and complaints from the public; for plans for promotion; for standards of achievement; for extracurricular activities and the handling of funds connected therewith; for health service; for reports to parents; for courses of study and curriculums; for school discipline; for educational and financial accounting and inventories of physical properties; for school attendance; for rules governing absence of employees; for time and manner of payment of employees; for obtaining bids; for awarding contracts; and for such other areas as he may choose or as the board of education may from time to time designate.

4. In the formulation of these plans, the superintendent of schools shall incorporate any sections of the code governing the administration within the area with which the plan deals.

5. In these plans, all employees—educational, operational, maintenance, and financial—shall clear through the superintendent of schools, and all services within individual schools shall clear through the individual principals. These plans shall be submitted as documents which, after modification and general approval by the board of education, shall serve as operational controls to be put into effect by the superintendent of schools.

6. The superintendent of schools shall keep the board of education informed with respect to the operation of the various plans adopted as board policy so that members of the board may be fully aware of what is going on within the schools, and he shall be capable of advising with respect to modifications in the plans.

7. All such plans shall be considered subject to modification by action of the board of education at any meeting.

8. Plans so adopted shall not be considered as part of the legislative acts of the board but rather as administrative acts, and, therefore, they shall not be subject to the rules on amendment applicable to this code.

9. Documents setting forth these plans as approved by the board of education shall be on file in the superintendent's office and available for inspection by any member of the board, the school staff, or the public.

10. When any such plan has been adopted it shall be considered as representing board administrative policy until such time as it may be changed by action of the board. The initiative with respect to changing such plans shall normally be expected to come from the superintendent of schools but may come from the board itself.

11. The superintendent of schools or any member of the board may at any time propose that all or part of a plan for the administration of any of the above phases of work of the school be made a matter of board regulation, and such proposal shall be considered in the regular manner established for the enactment of rules and regulations.

12. In the novel situations arising within the schools, the superintendent shall have power to act, but his decisions shall be subject to review by action of the board at its next regular meeting.

13. In its regular June meeting the board of education shall adopt the school calendar for the ensuing school year. Preparatory to this act the superintendent of schools shall have submitted a proposed calendar to each member of the board one week in advance of the meeting.

Article VII. Pupils and Parents

1. Pupils, parents, employees, and the general public shall be dealt with in full conformity with state and federal laws defining the rights and privileges of individuals.

2. All children who are five years of age on or before January 1st of the current school year shall be admitted to the kindergarten group formed in September. Those who are five between January 1st and the end of the school year shall be admitted to kindergarten in February.

3. Children who enter kindergarten in February will not be automatically promoted to the first grade in September. Their classification at that time will be determined by appropriate tests of ability to perform the work required in the first grade.

4. The admission of children under six years of age to the first grade shall be determined by appropriate tests measuring their ability to perform the work required by the first grade. Admission to all subsequent grades shall be made on the same basis. The tests used for the aforesaid determination shall be prescribed by the superintendent of schools.

Article VIII. Employees

1. In case the superintendent of schools has not been notified by January 1st of any year that by action of a majority of the entire board membership his services are to be dispensed with at the termination of his present contract, the date of expiration of such contract shall be automatically extended to June 30th of the next succeeding calendar year.

2. All employees of the board of education except auditor, treasurer, district clerk, and council shall be selected on nomination of the superintendent of schools. Should a person nominated by the superintendent of schools be rejected by the board of education, it shall be the duty of the superintendent of schools to make another nomination.

3. It shall be the duty of the superintendent of schools to see that persons nominated for employment by the board of education shall meet all qualifications established by law or by the board of education for the type of position for which the nomination is made.

4. Teachers may be assigned to any specific school duty by the superintendent of schools.

5. (Here follows present salary schedules.)

Article IX. Educational Finance

1. Prior to Feb. 1 of each year the superintendent of schools shall have formulated a tentative budget for the following school year. In the preparation of this tentative budget, the superintendent shall, to the extent feasible, confer with employed personnel and with parent and other public groups so as to make the tentative budget as nearly as possible an expression of the interests of all concerned.

2. The superintendent shall submit the tentative budget to the board of education at its regular February meeting together with a plan of conferences with employees and members of the public, designed to assist the board in determining the character of the budget to be submitted to the annual financial meeting.

3. At the next regular meeting following the annual district meeting, the board of education shall make such modifications of the budget in detail as may be required for the efficient operation of the schools in the light of modifications in available funds made at the district meeting.

4. The budget so modified shall be considered as a controlled spending plan for the ensuing year. The superintendent of schools is hereby authorized to make expenditures and commitments in accordance with and in harmony with the specific regulations of the board and administrative plans approved by the board. This same procedure shall be followed with respect to expenditures provided for by special board action.

5. No change shall be made in the allocation of funds to the items in the budget except by board action in a meeting in the call for which the purpose to make changes in allocations has been announced.

6. No purchases involving an expenditure of more than $250 shall be made without bids obtained and agreements entered into according to the administrative plan approved by the board of education.

7. Payment of bills shall be made by the treasurer on submission of voucher checks signed by the clerk, the treasurer, and the president of the board or the president's alternate. At each regular meeting a list of bills paid or ordered paid, showing their authorization, shall be submitted to the board of education for inspection. Any member of the board may call for detailed information on any listed expenditure.

8. To promote adaptability the budget shall carry a contingent fund available for expenditure by the superintendent for such legal purposes as he may deem wise in promoting the interests of the schools. Expenditures from this fund shall not require special action by the board, but at the October, February, and June meet-

ings of the board, the superintendent of schools shall make a detailed report of expenditures from this fund and of the purposes which he hopes to serve thereby.

9. At least once annually the board of education shall arrange for an outside audit of all accounts of income and expenditure, including a vouching of all payments with the board's authorization contained either in the budget or in special action of the board. All intramural funds shall be considered within the scope of such audit.

PART III. SUBJECTS FREQUENTLY COVERED BY OTHER BOARD RULES AND REGULATIONS ARRANGED UNDER THE SAME HEADINGS AS THE GREEN WILLOWS CODE

(No additions for Articles I and II)

Article III. Board Organization and Meetings

1. Board by majority vote may hold executive sessions at any regular or special meeting.
2. Any three members of board may call special meeting if they give 24 hours' notice.
3. No employee appointed, transferred, or dismissed, no school term determined, no courses adopted or altered, no textbook selected, except by vote of majority of entire board membership.
4. Appointment of counsel.
5. Order of business may be changed for the current meeting by majority vote.
6. Specific place for all meetings.
7. Specification of meeting dates.
8. Board may constitute itself a committee of the whole.

Article IV. Duties of Board Officers

1. The secretary shall keep separate record of rules and regulations.
2. Report by district treasurer.
3. Report of counsel.
4. Duties of treasurer.
5. President shall nominate committees.
6. Furnish clerk material for annual report to education department.

(No additions for Article V)

Article VI. Administration

1. Power to suspend any employee.
2. Monthly report of superintendent.
3. Superintendent's annual report.
4. Superintendent, subject to approval and consent of board, shall formulate educational policies and effectuate same.
5. Superintendent's seat in board and right to speak on all subjects.
6. Administrative organization chart.
7. Book agents and solicitors.
8. Fire drills (superintendent).
9. Smoking by faculty and employees only in rooms provided for that purpose.
10. Selection of textbooks.
11. Superintendent to supervise and direct system of examinations.

12. Superintendent to advise teachers with respect to methods of instruction and discipline.
13. Superintendent to have power to close school on hot or stormy days.
14. Superintendent shall keep records of teacher applicants but may destroy them after two years.
15. Superintendent to see that school records are properly kept.
16. Principal to report attendance to superintendent.
17. Principal notification in case of teacher absence.
18. Principal to keep record of teachers' attendance (also other records).
19. Principal responsible for property.
20. Principal responsible for education in his building.
21. Principal responsible for fire drills.
22. Custodians directly responsible to principals.
23. Principal to make rules in harmony with higher authority.
24. High-school principal responsible for supervision of all social functions of pupils.
25. Principal at least half time visiting classes.
26. Teachers to keep attendance.
27. Rule against accepting free propaganda materials.
28. Teachers' certificates of health.
29. Teachers may not tutor during school year without consent of superintendent.
30. Teachers promptly to report to principal damage to property.
31. Teachers promptly to report to principal failure of janitor to do proper work.
32. Teachers responsible for discipline.
33. Teachers responsible for education of children in their charge.
34. Rules for supervisors and special teachers.
35. Rules governing bus drivers.
36. Rules governing operating personnel.
37. Responsibility and working hours of office assistants.
38. Rules governing attendance officer.
39. Rules governing school physician.

Article VII. Pupils and Parents

1. Superintendent to have power to exclude children who have been exposed to disease.
2. Smoking by pupils prohibited in buildings and on grounds.
3. Pupils over compulsory age must average 95 per cent.
4. Post-graduates must obey all rules of board and of student council.
5. Pupils may not frequent boiler room or service quarters.
6. Teachers may not detain pupils past bus-leaving time without principal's permission.
7. High-school pupils may not change high-school course without approval of counselor and parent.
8. Superintendent to have power to suspend pupils until next board meeting.
9. Nonresident tuition.
10. Handling telephone calls.
11. Student council official representative body of the students.
12. Released time for religious education.

Article VIII. Employees

1. Qualifications of teachers beyond state requirements.
2. Definition of school year for superintendent.
3. Payment for absence of superintendent.
4. Rule on payment for absence.

Article IX. Educational Finance

1. Bids to be submitted in sealed envelopes and opened at meeting.
2. Board not obligated to accept lowest bid and may reject all.
3. One hundred dollars petty cash for superintendent, to be replenished.
4. One hundred dollars petty cash for principal, to be replenished.
5. Intramural funds audited each year by committee appointed by board.
6. Regulations for extracurricular activity funds.
7. Allotment of supply money to teachers.
8. Procedure for bill payment.
9. Last installment of salary not to be paid until certain final duties are performed.
10. Number and time of salary payments.
11. Payments for bond reduction and payments of interest do not require board action, but same to be reported at next meeting.
12. Payments of salaries do not require board action, but payroll reported at next meeting.
13. Fee for use of school auditorium.
14. Teachers not privileged to commit school for purchase of materials or supplies or to order repairs.
15. Principal must approve all requisitions.

APPENDIX E

SCHOOL CODE FOR THE STATE OF NEW OSCEOLA

This is not a complete school code; the provisions in certain classifications are omitted, the headings only being given. In other instances rather extensive items are covered by brief, descriptive notes. The parts of the code reproduced here are directed mainly to the achievement of the following three purposes:

1. *The assurance of a satisfactory foundation of educational support in every town and city.* The maintenance of this foundation of support would be mandatory and would be a prime condition for the privilege of controlling schools locally.

While state participation of support is provided, the responsibility for meeting the minimum support requirements is placed squarely upon the school district. In addition, provision is made for state operation of a far more complete system of vocational education, Americanization, and education of handicapped children.

2. *The assurance of conditions favorable to the continued efficiency of educational practices.* To achieve this, a larger share of support from the state is proposed than would be necessary to maintain the foundation level of support, a rejuvenation of home rule by a more complete separation of school government from municipal government, by changes in size and mode of elections of school committees in many school districts, by expansion of the services provided by the state department of education, and by the provision of cooperative curriculum, guidance, and administrative services by school districts.

3. *The assurance of smooth, economical, and efficient operation of the schools.* To achieve this, provision is made for definite delineation of the powers of local school government and of the state department of education, revisions of the regulations under which home rule operates, including the provisions for business management and for the employment and discharge of employed personnel, and the revision of the organization of the state department of education so that it will be better equipped to deal with the operational, judicial, prudential, service, and leadership functions which fall to it.

THE CODE

Preamble

Mindful of the solemn responsibilities placed upon the General Assembly by the Constitution "to promote public schools and to adopt all means which they may deem necessary and proper to secure to the people the advantages and opportunities of education," and in gratefulness to Almighty God Who has so long permitted the people of New Osceola to enjoy the blessing of self-government, We, the General Assembly, in adopting a recodification of the laws governing the public schools, do so with the full realization that, whatever considerations may appear paramount in any individual provision of the law, the purpose of all the provisions taken together is to assure the continued strength of citizenship and individual self-reliance necessary to a free people; therefore, in the administration and judicial

interpretation of such laws these purposes shall be controlling so that no interest shall outweigh the solemn purpose of preparing the children and youth of each generation to inherit and to glorify this great heritage of freedom.

Chapter 1. Allocation of Responsibility for Public Education

Sec. 1. The responsibility for the operation and control of the public schools of the state shall be vested in school districts and in the state department of education.

Sec. 2. The support of public education in the state shall be a joint responsibility of school districts and of the general assembly.

Sec. 3. All functions of public education which are designated by law to be operated directly by the state government shall be under the control of the state department of education and shall be administered thereby unless otherwise specifically provided by law.

Sec. 4. The state department of education shall consist of the state board of education and the commissioner of education and his staff.

Sec. 5. The boundaries of geographical areas now served by school boards shall be the boundaries of school districts until and unless changes are made in accordance with law.

Sec. 6. All functions of education operated by school districts shall be under the complete authority of the school district officials except where the law specifically delegates regulatory power to the state board of education or, by the enactment of regulations into law, delegates ministerial powers to the commissioner of education.

Sec. 7. For the purpose of this title, ministerial acts shall be defined as those acts performed by an executive officer applying regulations expressed in the law or formulated by the board of education, local or state, or other agency in accordance with law. The presumption shall be that ministerial acts involve a minimum of discretionary power. Ministerial acts shall not be reviewable by the body establishing the rules and regulations except for the purpose of determining the adequacy of the rules themselves or the efficiency of the ministerial officer. Appeals of individuals from the acts of a ministerial officer shall be to the commissioner of education or to the courts and in no case to the body responsible for making the rule or regulation in the application of which the act is performed.

Sec. 8. The right of a school district to control and operate the public schools in its area shall be contingent upon the maintenance in such schools of school support equal at least to the foundation level of school support defined in Chap. 8 and the observance of the prohibitions and the carrying out of the mandates and regulations established by law or by the board of education in accordance with law.

Sec. 9. In case of failure on the part of any school districts to maintain a level of educational support at least equal to that defined in Chap. 8 as the foundation level of support, the commissioner of education and the state board of education shall lay the facts before a justice of the supreme court. If the justice of the supreme court concurs with the commissioner of education and the state board of education in the judgment that the school district has failed to make arrangements for maintaining a level of support at least equal to the foundation level of school support as defined in Chap. 8, he shall have the power and it shall be his duty to clothe the board of education with all the powers and duties of the school board and of the school meeting, if there be such, and the commissioner of education with all the powers and duties of the superintendent of schools, respectively, of the school

district, for a period of not less than six months nor more than three years. If within five years of the restoration of its powers the school district shall again fail to maintain said foundation level of school support, it shall be the duty of the supreme court justice reviewing the case to order the state board of education to dissolve the district and append its territory to another district or districts.

Sec. 10. In case of violation by school districts of specific mandates, prohibitions, or regulations established by law or by the state board of education in accordance with law, except violations of the certification requirements, the commissioner of education shall reduce the next payment or payments of state aid by an amount approximately equal to that saved by the community by reason of such violation; *provided, however*, that the amount of such penalty shall be not less than $100. The amount of these penalties shall be paid to the permanent school fund. No one shall have the power to remit them.

Sec. 11. If the commissioner of education and the state board of education, after a hearing at which the officer or officers concerned may be represented by counsel, shall find repeated or continued violation, by a school board or any other officer or officers of, or serving with, the school district, of mandates, prohibitions, or regulations established by law, or by the state board of education in accordance with law, the commissioner of education shall place the facts before a supreme court justice with the recommendation that the officer or officers be removed from office. If the supreme court justice concurs with the recommendation of the commissioner of education and state board of education, he shall order the removal of the officer or officers from office and shall appoint a successor or successors to serve out the unexpired term or terms.

Sec. 12. At least once annually the governor shall call a conference for the consideration of state policy with respect to public education. Participants in this conference shall be the governor as chairman, members of the state board of education, the commissioner of education, members of the committee on education in both houses of the general assembly, the presiding officers of the two houses, and such other state officers, members of the general assembly, and other persons as the governor may designate. The governor, the president of the state board of education, and the commissioner of education shall constitute a committee for the planning of these conferences.

Chapter 2. The State Board of Education

Sec. 1. The state board of education shall consist of seven members, to be appointed by the governor with the approval of the senate. Members of said board, other than the original appointees hereunder, shall be appointed to serve for terms of 7 years and thereafter until their respective successors are duly appointed and qualified. The term of each shall begin on July 1 next succeeding his appointment except where the appointment is made to fill a current vacancy, in which case the term shall begin immediately on appointment and shall continue through the remainder of the unexpired term. Those first appointed shall begin their period of service immediately upon appointment and shall be designated to serve terms of from one to seven years or until their respective successors are duly appointed and qualified.

Sec. 2. At least three of the members of the state board of education shall be persons who have had experience as members of school boards in New Osceola school districts.

No salaried employee of any educational institution or school system shall be

eligible to serve on the state board of education, and the acceptance of a salaried position in an educational institution shall disqualify a member for further service.

Sec. 3. Members of the board of education shall serve without pay but shall be reimbursed for necessary traveling expenses.

Sec. 4. At the first meeting of the state board of education called on or after July 1 of any year, the board of education shall elect a president for the ensuing year. The commissioner of education shall serve as secretary.

Sec. 5. The state board of education shall hold meetings in the first weeks of July, September, December, and March, at the office of the commissioner of education and may hold special meetings at the call of the president or secretary.

Sec. 6. Five members of the state board of education shall constitute a quorum for transacting business; *Provided, however*, that no business shall be transacted in the absence of the commissioner of education or his representative, except that which has to do with his own appointment or the fixing of his salary.

Sec. 7. The state board of education shall appoint the commissioner of education to serve from year to year, or for a specified period, at such salary as the board shall designate within the amount appropriated therefor.

Sec. 8. The board shall have the power to contract with the commissioner of education for a period not to exceed five years. If the commissioner is appointed to serve from year to year, failure of the board by majority action to notify him to the contrary by Jan. 1 of any year shall constitute an extension of his period of service until June 30 of the next succeeding school year. This rule shall apply also to the last year of a specified term.

Sec. 9. All appointments of members of the state department staff shall be made by the state board of education on nomination of the commissioner of education.

Sec. 10. The state board of education shall serve as the administrative board for those educational functions operated by the state department of education, and the commissioner of education shall be its executive officer.

Sec. 11. The state board of education shall serve as the state board for vocational education.

Sec. 12. The state board of education shall promote such central or cooperative services to the school districts as in its judgment will improve the management of schools, broaden public understanding of education, and provide more adequate educational services generally.

Sec. 13. The department of education shall seek to discover new needs arising in the school districts that may call for important changes in school practices and shall take all necessary steps to become aware of the emergence of better ways of meeting the recognized needs, both within this state and elsewhere. To assist school districts in developing or demonstrating improved practices there shall be a sum provided in the annual budget of the state department of education to be drawn upon by the state board of education, on recommendation of the commissioner of education, to make grants-in-aid to school districts undertaking the development or demonstration of educational practices designed to improve the quality of the educational work of the state, or to provide at lower cost as good results as are now obtained.

Sec. 14. Wherever the law refers to standards or regulations established by the state board of education, such reference shall be considered a vesting of power in the board for the development of such standards or regulations, and it shall be the duty of the board, with the advice of the commissioner of education, to formulate appropriate standards or regulations, and when formulated such standards

and regulations shall have the same force and effect as if they were incorporated in the provisions of this title.

Sec. 15. Rules and regulations developed by the state board of education in carrying out its responsibilities under the provisions of Sec. 14 of this chapter shall have the force of law and shall be administered by the commissioner of education in ministerial capacity.

Sec. 16. Rules and regulations passed by the state board of education in accordance with its responsibilities under the provisions of Sec. 14 of this chapter shall be acted upon at a meeting in the call for which the intention to consider such legislation shall be announced.

The application of the rules and regulations of the state board of education to individual cases shall be the responsibility of the commissioner of education and the state board of education shall not have power to suspend the operation of its rules and regulations in individual cases nor shall it have the power to repeal or amend its rules and regulations except in a meeting in the call for which purpose of repeal or amendment has been specifically stated.

Sec. 17. All policy-making powers delegated to school authorities by law, or necessary to the carrying out of the law, shall be exercised by school district authorities unless the law specifies that such powers shall be exercised by the state department of education or any of its parts.

Sec. 18. Membership on the state board of education shall not clothe any person with individual powers with respect to public education, and the state board of education may not designate any one or more of its members to carry out ministerial or executive functions.

Sec. 19. The state board of education and commissioner of education shall jointly develop a budget to cover those activities to be carried on by the state department of education and shall include therein the amount of payments to school districts required to meet the provisions of the law.

During the months of October and November the state board of education shall hold conferences concerning the budget and the state department services it represents for the next succeeding fiscal year to which conferences may be invited school superintendents, local school board members, members of the instructional staff, and members of the public at large. The budget as approved by the state board of education shall be submitted to the state budget officer on or before Dec. 1.

Sec. 20. Any activity dealing with persons under twenty-one years of age, which is carried on within the state, by either a state government or a federal government agency, shall in its educational aspects, if any, be subject to the rules and regulations of the state board of education.

Sec. 21. The commissioner of education is hereby authorized to approve proper vouchers for the promotion and support of public education; *Provided, however,* that all payments from funds appropriated for vocational education shall be subject to the approval of the state board for vocational education, and all funds appropriated for the cooperative workshop shall be subject to the approval of the workshop board; and the controller is hereby authorized and directed to draw his orders upon the general treasurer for the payment from said funds upon receipt by him of proper vouchers so approved.

Chapter 3. The Commissioner of Education

Sec. 1. The commissioner of education shall serve as executive officer of the board of education with respect to educational functions operated under the control

of the board of education and as ministerial officer for the board with respect to those rules and regulations governing the operation of public schools that are established by the board in accordance with law.

Sec. 2. The commissioner of education shall serve as the direct ministerial officer of the general assembly with respect to those mandates, prohibitions, and regulations for school districts or educational institutions that are specified in the law.

Sec. 3. The commissioner of education shall prescribe such uniform systems of records and reports as in his judgment are essential to carrying out mandatory, prohibitive, and regulatory law and state department of education rules and regulations made in accordance with law, taking into account the requirements of the office of education at Washington, and on approval of the state board of education, shall furnish free of charge such necessary blank forms of inquiry, cards, and record books as shall be required for such purposes.

Sec. 4. The officers or persons in charge of all schools and educational institutions supported wholly or in part by this state, whether entirely devoted to education or only partially so, shall make annually in the month of July to the department of education a report of such facts as shall show the number of pupils and instructors, the courses of study, cost of maintenance, and general needs and conditions of the school or institution.

Sec. 5–11. (The commissioner's duties to prescribe reports and records, make surveys, report to the general assembly, visit schools, and study curriculums.)

Sec. 12. The commissioner of education shall furnish the registrar of motor vehicles and state fire marshal with such information and advice as they may require in carrying out their respective responsibilities in establishing standards for the transportation of children and for the safety of school buildings, respectively.

Sec. 13. It shall be the duty of the commissioner of education continuously to observe the operation of mandates, prohibitions, and regulations established by law or by the state board of education in accordance with law, and to formulate proposals for modification of such provisions as he deems salutary to the effective operation of the school system.

Chapter 4. The Schools and the Courts

Sec. 1. Parties having any matters of dispute between them arising under this title may agree in writing to submit the same to the adjudication of the commissioner of education, and his decision therein shall be final.

Sec. 2. Any person, aggrieved by a decision or doings of any board of education or in any other matter arising under this title, may appeal to the commissioner of education, who, after notice to the party interested of the time and place of hearing, shall examine and decide the same without cost to the parties; *Provided*, that nothing contained in this section shall be so construed as to deprive such aggrieved party of any legal remedy.

Sec. 3. (Omitted matter deals with judicial machinery and lists various penalties provided by law for failure to act or for violating prohibitions.)

Chapter 5. School Districts

Sec. 1. The state board of education and the commissioner of education shall develop a master plan for the correction of the deficiencies in present school dis-

tricts so that the general assembly may have a guide in modifying school districts better to meet present-day needs. The board is hereby directed to submit such a master plan to the governor on or before Dec. 1, together with proposals for legislation to make modification of districts permissive, to equalize the burden of capital outlay involved in the development of schoolhouses in the proposed districts, and to give the state department of education authority to approve the location of school buildings according to the master plan proposed, and said board is hereby directed to submit to the governor annually, on or before Dec. 1, proposed modifications to such master plan, together with proposals for legislation pertaining thereto.

Chapter 6. The Local Board of Education

Sec. 1. All powers with respect to the operation of schools and other public educational activities in any school district shall be vested in the board of education except as specific powers may hereafter be delegated by law to other agencies.

Sec. 2. The board of education of each school district shall consist of seven members. Said committee shall be divided into seven classes, and the several terms of office shall expire at the end of 7 years after the dates of their respective election; *Provided, however*, that the present members of boards of education in school districts shall continue in office until the expiration of the terms for which they were elected. If the present board consists of less than seven members, at the next election a sufficient number shall be elected to supplement the present membership up to seven, and each of the additional members so elected shall be assigned to one of the seven classes by lot to be cast at the organization meeting of the new school board. This process shall continue until all members have been elected for a seven-year term and all classes are filled. Thereafter vacated classes shall be filled by election. In case the number of board members at present is seven or more, all members of the present board shall continue in office until the expiration of terms reduces the number below seven. Thereafter the same procedure shall be followed as is outlined above for boards with less than seven members.

Sec. 3. Except as herein otherwise specifically provided, there shall be an election of board of education members annually. When and if the election is held in conjunction with an election of municipal, state, or national officers, those nominated for board of education membership shall be listed on a separate ballot and shall not appear on the party ballot. When and if the election is an election for educational purposes only, the candidates for election shall be listed on a single ballot without designation of party affiliation. Until otherwise specifically provided by law, elective meetings for the selection of board of education members shall be held in the several school districts on the same dates, annually, as the dates on which respective municipalities heretofore conducted their elections.

Sec. 4. The names of all candidates shall be placed on the ballot in alphabetical order.

Sec. 5. In the event that no candidate receives a majority of all the votes lawfully cast for candidates at any such election, no candidate shall be declared elected. In such event, a run-off election shall be held on a day 30 days from the day on which the original election was conducted, or if that day be a Sunday or holiday, then on the day following such thirtieth day, and at such run-off election, there shall appear upon the ballot in alphabetical order the names of the two

candidates who received the greatest number of votes cast for candidates at such original election.

Sec. 6. Should there at any one time be two or more vacancies on a board of education due to death or resignation, the commissioner of education shall lay the facts before the chief justice of the supreme court who shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, to appoint eligible persons to serve until the vacancies have been filled by election.

Sec. 7. The nomination of candidates for board of education membership shall be by petition. The number of signatures required for nomination in school districts with 50,000 or less population in the last federal census shall be 50. In school districts with a population from 50,000 to 200,000 the number of signatures required shall be 100. In school districts with a population of more than 200,000 the number of signatures required shall be 200. No person shall be qualified to sign any such nomination petitions unless he shall be a qualified elector of this state residing within the respective school district.

Sec. 8. Nomination and election of board of education members shall be at large.

Sec. 9. Whenever it shall be proved to his satisfaction that any member of a school board has been guilty of any wilful violation or neglect of duty under this title or under any other act pertaining to common schools or other educational institutions participating in state funds, or of wilfully disobeying any order or regulation of the state board of education or of the commissioner of education, the commissioner of education, after a hearing at which the member shall have the right of representation by counsel, may lay a statement of the facts of the case before one of the justices of the supreme court with the recommendation for the removal of the board member from his office, and the decision of the supreme court justice shall be final.

Sec. 10. The board of education of each school district shall choose a chairman and clerk, either of whom may sign any orders or official papers and may be removed at the pleasure of said board. The clerk, under the direction of the committee, shall keep a journal of the proceedings of the committee. The board may select one of its own number as clerk. If any one other than a member of the board is to be selected as clerk, the person selected, unless he be the superintendent of schools, shall be selected on the nomination of the superintendent of schools. The clerk, by virtue of his position, shall perform no other functions than those enumerated above and in Sec. 21 of this chapter.

Sec. 11. The school district treasurer shall keep accounts according to the rules and regulations of the state board of education and shall make such reports as the state board of education or the commissioner of education, or both, shall require of him.

Sec. 12. The board of education shall, with the advice of the superintendent of schools, adopt rules and regulations for the effective operation of the schools.

The application of the rules and regulations of the board of education shall be the responsibility of the superintendent of schools acting in a ministerial capacity.

Sec. 13. The board of education shall not have power to suspend the operation of its rules and regulations in individual cases.

Sec. 14. The adoption, repeal, or amendment of a rule or regulation by the board shall be made only by vote of a majority of all the members of the committee at a meeting in the call for which the purpose to consider the adoption, repeal, or amendment has been announced. Before the adoption, repeal, or

amendment takes effect, it must be acted upon favorably at a second meeting of the committee after a period of not less than 20 days has elapsed.

Sec. 15. The board of education shall act only as a committee of the whole.

Sec. 16. No person shall be vested with administrative powers by virtue of his membership on a board of education, and no board of education shall have the power to invest any one member or group of members with administrative powers.

Chapter 7. Superintendents of Schools

Secs. 1–10. (Selection, powers, and duties of county or regional superintendent and the selection of local school superintendents.)

Sec. 11. No person shall be employed as superintendent of schools in any school district unless such person holds a certificate issued by or under the authority of the commissioner of education in accordance with professional standards adopted by the state board of education.

Sec. 12. The board of education is hereby empowered to contract with the superintendent of schools for a period not to exceed 5 years. If by January 1 of the last year of any such contract notice has not been given the superintendent of action by the majority of the board of education terminating his service at the end of the contract period, the life of the contract shall be automatically extended until June 30 of the next succeeding school year. In the case of annual appointments this rule shall be applicable each year.

Sec. 13. The superintendent of schools employed in accordance with the provisions of this chapter, shall, under the direction of the board of education, have the care and supervision of the public schools and shall be the chief administrative agent of the board. He shall give the board such assistance as it may direct in keeping its records and accounts and in making such reports as are required by law. He shall recommend to the board courses of study, textbooks, school supplies, school furniture, repairs, and other needed improvements. He shall make a report to the board annually and at such other times as it may direct.

Sec. 14. All appointments of persons to serve in the public schools of a school district in any capacity shall be made by the board of education on the nomination of the superintendent of schools, unless the board shall have delegated the power of appointment to the superintendent of schools. Persons nominated by the superintendent for appointment to serve in the public schools of a district shall be certified by the superintendent as possessing the qualifications required by the rules and regulations of the state board of education and the board of education. Should the board reject any person nominated it shall be the duty of the superintendent to submit another nomination. This process shall continue until an appointment has been made.

Sec. 15. It shall be the responsibility of the superintendent of schools, jointly with the board of education, to prepare the school budget.

Sec. 16. It shall be the duty of the superintendent of schools to propose to the board of education rules and regulations in those areas where uniformity of procedure or minimum requirements would in his judgment expedite administrative procedure.

Sec. 17. Whenever rules and regulations are adopted by the board of education, either on its own initiative or on recommendation of the superintendent, such rules and regulations shall have the effect of law within the school district, and the superintendent of schools shall serve in a ministerial capacity in their application to individual cases.

CHAPTER 8. THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Sec. 1. Each school district shall establish and maintain for at least 180 days annually, exclusive of holidays, a sufficient number of schools and other educational facilities to make possible the provisions of the educational opportunities required by law, or which they may elect to provide in accordance with law. Whenever the board of education of any school district shall find that it is more convenient or expedient for any child residing in said school district to attend school in an adjoining school district, said board may arrange with the school authorities of such school district for the attendance of such child at their schools and may pay for such tuition out of the school district appropriation for public schools. The amount so paid shall be used for school purposes only.

Sec. 2. For the school year beginning July 1 and for each year thereafter, each school district shall maintain an annual expenditure for educational purposes, exclusive of capital outlay and debt service, equal to or in excess of the $100 foundation level of school support as defined in Sec. 3 of this chapter; *Provided, however,* that school districts that are supporting schools on a level below the foundation level at the time this act takes effect, shall, on application to the state board of education, be given a reasonable period to meet this requirement, the length of time being determined by the state board of education with due consideration to the amount of increased expenditure required, the availability of state aid, present local tax rates, the administrative problems involved in bringing about needed educational improvements, and other pertinent factors. The state board of education shall adopt specific procedures for the submission of plans by the school districts comprising this last-mentioned group.

Sec. 3. The $100 foundation level of school support shall be determined by the addition of the following items: Item 1, $100 per weighted pupil in average daily attendance, and Item 2, an amount sufficient to provide adequate and safe transportation facilities for all pupils transported in accordance with standards established by the state board of education.

The weighted average daily attendance shall be determined by taking the sum of the average daily attendance of pupils enrolled in Grade 8 and below and 1.3[1] times the average daily attendance of pupils enrolled in ninth grade and above; *provided, however,* that in place of the actual average daily attendance in each special class for handicapped children, approved by the commissioner of education, an average daily attendance of 26 pupils shall be counted for each class; *and provided, further,* that any part of the average daily attendance of pupils enrolled in vocational classes that are aided both by the state and federal government, in accordance with Chap. 17, shall not be counted in making this computation.

In computing the expenditure required by the foundation level of school support in districts operating one or more isolated school buildings with fewer than four teachers each in either the elementary department or the high-school department, the average daily attendance in such schools shall be counted as not less than 27 times the number of teachers employed in eighth grade and below, and as not less than 24 times the number of teachers employed in ninth grade and above; the amount added by the operation of this proviso to that which would be obtained by

[1] These ratios and weightings should be based upon best current information. They are in a state of flux at the time of this writing. Also, many states should have graduated corrections for small schools. *See* MORT, PAUL R., and W. C. REUSSER, *Public School Finance*, Chap. XVIII, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941.

computation in terms of actual average daily attendance shall be known as the small school correction.

Computation shall be based on all pupils cared for in the budget of the school district.

Not less than 70 per cent of Item 1 shall be spent for salaries of teachers and for nonresident tuition, and not less than 20 per cent of Item 1 shall be spent for purposes other than salaries.

Sec. 4. With the advice of the superintendent of schools, the board of education shall determine the purposes, scope, and nature of the school curriculum, subject only to such mandates, prohibitions, and regulations as are provided by law or by the state board of education in accordance with law.

Sec. 5. The curriculum shall emphasize the principles of popular and representative government as stated in the Constitution of New Osceola and in the Constitution of the United States, the principles of morality and virtue, and shall include instruction and activities to promote the physical development of health of pupils, including physiology and hygiene, with special reference to the effects of alcoholic liquors, stimulants, and narcotics upon the human system.

It shall be the duty of the principal or other person in charge of every public school or educational institution within the state, other than evening schools, having more than 25 pupils, to instruct and train the pupils by means of drills, so that they may in a sudden emergency be able to leave the school building in the shortest possible time and without confusion or panic. Such drills or rapid dismissals shall be held at least once each month. Neglect by any principal or any person in charge of any public school or educational institution to comply with the provisions of this paragraph shall be a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not exceeding $50.

The state board of education, with the advice of the commissioner of education, shall prescribe those parts of the school curriculum in which such instruction is required and the minimum amounts and nature of such instruction through the prescription of courses of study, fire codes or drill tactics, special days of observance, rules for the display of the flag, and such other provisions or regulations as in its judgment are best suited to promote the welfare of the state and of its individual citizens.

Secs. 6–12. (These numbers are left for the insertion of such mandatory and permissive provisions of the law as bear on the educational program such as provisions for legal holidays, teaching of particular subjects, etc.)

Sec. 13. The location and construction of school buildings shall be under the control of the board of education except that location and plans for such buildings, including the provision of grounds for recreational or other educational purposes, shall be subject to the approval of the commissioner of education with respect to minimum standards established by the state board of education.

Sec. 14. The provisions of this chapter governing the scope and nature of the educational program and of school support shall be construed to be intended for the purpose of establishing minimum safeguards, and they shall not be construed to restrict the development of more adequate means of serving the intended purposes.

Chapter 9. Local School Support

Note: Ideally, provisions for local support would divide the districts into two categories. Large districts would give the power of determining the amount to be

raised by taxes for current purposes to the board of education, after a public hearing, but would reserve the right to bond the district to the electorate. Small districts would require a submission of the amount to be raised to the electorate, whether for current or capital purposes. In many states this is complicated by special charter arrangements with cities, carrying all sorts of antiquated provisions representing either practice or experimental insight of the time the charters were adopted. An even more upsetting factor is the growth of over-all tax limitations that cast the lot of education in with municipal affairs, making the board of education, in effect, a body subordinate to municipal government. The provisions given here (particularly 1 through 7) are suggested as a way of disentangling schools from municipal matters in such states. The disturbing factor is an over-all tax limitation of 2 per cent on assessed valuation for current purposes. In addition to the tax on real property there is a dog tax and a tangible property tax, the rates being fixed by state laws. Sections 8 to 12, however, are generally applicable.

Sec. 1. The full yield of the poll tax and of the dog tax from any school district shall be used for school purposes. In each school district there shall be used for school purposes that ratio of the yield of the tax on intangible property in the district which expenditures for school purposes from all funds derived from local taxes in the last completed fiscal year prior to the adoption of this act bore to the total expenditures for that year from such funds.

Sec. 2. The poll tax and the dog tax shall be deposited to the credit of the board of education as they are received by the tax collector. The proportionate part of the tax on intangible property to be used for school purposes, in accordance with Sec. 1, shall be placed to the credit of the board of education as collected. That proportion of the tax on real property and tangible personal property which has been allocated for school purposes in accordance with Sec. 4 to 6 of this chapter, shall be deposited to the credit of the board of education as collected.

Sec. 3. Each tax receipt shall carry a statement of the proportion of the tax allocated to the municipal government and the proportion allocated to the board of education.

Sec. 4. Where the tax rate on real property and tangible personal property exceeds $18 per thousand, now or in the future, there shall be a just allocation of the actual or potential taxes to educational and municipal purposes by a method to be selected by the electorate. Where the tax rate is less than $18 per thousand there shall be such an allocation only if both the school board and the municipal council shall vote in favor of submitting the choice of methods to the electorate.

Sec. 5. In school districts where the tax rate on real property and personal tangible property was in excess of $18 per thousand at the latest assessment of taxes prior to the year in which this provision takes effect, the choice of methods of making a just allocation of actual or potential taxes shall be made by the electors at the next election of town, city, or school district officers. In those other school districts in which the tax rate comes to exceed $18 per thousand at some later time, the choice shall be made at the election of municipal or school district officers next following the time of assessment of a tax on real property and personal tangible property in excess of $18 per thousand.

Sec. 6. The electors of each school district referred to in Secs. 4 and 5 shall choose one of the two following methods of allocating the actual or potential taxes on real property and tangible personal property to educational and municipal purposes:

Method 1. The maximum tax that may legally be levied on real property and tangible personal property shall be allocated to municipal purposes and school

purposes in proportion to the total expenditure from the yield of such tax for municipal and school purposes in the fiscal year next preceding that in which election for the choice of methods is held; *Provided, however,* that if the rate of taxation permitted by law shall at any time be increased above the amount specified in the law, the increased amount over that specified in the law shall be allotted in a similar manner; *and provided, further,* that, in the event that functions now supported under municipal control are transferred to the school district, or vice versa, there shall be a proportionate correction of the allocation of taxes.

Method 2. (An alternative method to be approved by the board of education and the commissioner of education.)

Provided, however, that an alternative method of allocation may be substituted on the ballot of any school district for method 1 if the substitution has the approval of both the board of education and the municipal council and if the plan to be substituted has been designed in cooperation with the commissioner of education and is certified by him as a method which safeguards the state's interests in public education.

Sec. 7. When a method of allocation of the actual or potential taxes on real property and tangible personal property has been in operation for a period of at least 10 years, the commissioner of education may, and, on the petition of the board of education, or of the town or city council, or of a number of qualified voters not less than that required for the nomination of a member of the board of education in the school district, shall formulate an alternative method which method shall be submitted to the electors at the next election of board of education members. The ballot shall give the electors a choice between the method in operation and the alternative method. In the formulation of such an alternative method, consideration shall be given to the needs of both education and municipal government. Prior to the submission of the voters the method shall be certified by the commissioner of education as one which safeguards the state's interests in public education at least to the degree that it is safeguarded by the method in operation at the time.

Sec. 8. The voters of each school district shall determine whether the district is to be organized as a district of the first class or as a district of the second class.

Sec. 9. In each school district of the first class, the board of education shall have the responsibility of determining the amount of the annual school budget, subject to the limitations specified in this chapter, and of instructing the tax assessors as to the amount of taxes to be raised for that year from real property and tangible personal property for school purposes. The budget for a given school year shall be adopted not earlier than Mar. 1 nor later than Apr. 1 preceding.

Sec. 10. In each school district of the second class, the responsibility for determining the total amount of funds to be raised for school purposes from the taxes on real property and tangible personal property for the ensuing school year, within the limits prescribed by law, and of instructing the tax collectors as to the amount to be raised for that year from real property and tangible personal property for school purposes, shall be exercised by a school district financial meeting called for that sole purpose and to be held not earlier than March 1 nor later than April 1.

Sec. 11. The action of the school district financial meeting provided for by Sec. 10 shall be on the total amount of money to be raised from taxes on real property and tangible personal property. Its decisions shall not limit the power of the board of education to make changes in the details of the school budget.

Sec. 12. The electors of the school district shall have the power to authorize the school committee to issue bonds or to require the levying of a tax for the purpose of construction of school buildings and their appendages and for the purchase of land therefor; *Provided, however*, that the amount of such bonded indebtedness incurred shall not at any time exceed 2 per cent of the equalized, weighted assessed valuation of the school district as defined in Chap. 10 unless the exceeding of this limit shall have been authorized by special action of the general assembly.

The electors of the district shall vote on the question of the bond issue or the levying of a tax for the above purposes at a regular election or at a special election called by the board of education. The initiative with respect to submitting the question of a bond issue to the voters shall lie with the board of education. For the debt service on such bonds the board of education (or the school financial meeting as the case may be) may, if it deems it necessary, require taxes to be levied in excess of those authorized in Secs. 4 to 6 of this chapter.

Chapter 10. State Support of Public Schools

Sec. 1. There shall be paid to each school district, in two equal semiannual installments on Sept. 1 and Mar. 1 of each school year, such an amount as is determined by law to be the state's share of the cost of the foundation level of school support in the school district. The state's share of the cost of the foundation level of school support shall be known as state support.

Sec. 2. The state support for each school district shall be the excess of the cost of an $100 foundation level of school support in the district over the computed yield of a tax of $3 on each thousand dollars of weighted assessed valuation of the taxable property within the district.

For the purpose of computing the amount of the state support for each district, the cost of an $100 foundation level of school support shall be determined in accordance with Secs. 2 and 3 of Chap. 8 and Sec. 4 of this chapter, and the equalized valuation of the taxable property shall be determined in accordance with Sec. 6 of this chapter.

Sec. 3. To the state support granted each district in accordance with Sec. 2, there shall be added for state wards residing in the district a sufficient amount so that the state shall bear the full cost of their education.

Sec. 4. For the purposes of this chapter, the cost of the foundation level of school support in each school district shall be computed in terms of the attendance and transportation data of the second school year preceding that in which state aid payments are to be made, disregarding the small school correction defined in Chap. 8, Sec. 3.

In case the attendance of any school district in any year has been abnormally low as the result of epidemics or disasters, the attendance and transportation data of the latest preceding normal year shall be used.

The pupils transported to be considered in computing the cost of an $100 foundation level of school support for the purposes of this chapter shall be only those pupils enrolled in sixth grade and below who live 1½ miles or more distant from appropriate schools and those pupils enrolled in seventh grade and above who live 2 miles or more distant from appropriate schools. The cost of transporting such pupils for the purpose of this chapter shall be determined in terms of standards established by the state board of education, taking into account the standards for safety and adequacy established by the state board of education in accordance with Chap. 8, Sec. 3, the size of buses needed, the necessary length of bus routes, the

quality of roads, the availability of suitable public carriers, and other factors affecting cost that are reasonably outside the control of the school committees.

Sec. 5. The equalized valuation of each school district to be used in computing the state support to be paid in any school year shall be based on the latest valuation of property available on Sept. 1 of the preceding school year.

As a basis for the equalized valuation to be used in computing the amount of state support for each school district, the tax commissioner shall correct the valuations of property in each district for ratios of assessed to true valuation in the state and shall certify the equalized valuations for all school districts to the commissioner of education on or before Oct. of each year.

Sec. 6. On or before Dec. 1 of each year the commissioner of education shall submit to the state budget director and comptroller a statement of the amount of state support which will be required under the provisions of this chapter for each school district for the school year beginning on the following July 1, together with the total amount required, and shall n fy the board of education of each school district of the amount so certified.

To this total amount he shall add $5000 to be made available to the tax commissioner for the purpose of carrying on the studies necessary for supplying equalization data.

To this total amount he shall also add a contingent fund of 2 per cent of the total which shall be placed to the credit of the state board of education to be drawn upon, if needed, on recommendation of the commissioner of education, to supplement the state support as computed for school districts which experience a marked increase in attendance or a marked decrease in equalized valuation as compared with those on which the state support for a given year is computed.

Sec. 7. It being to the interest of the state that there shall be sufficient notice of modifications in the plan of state support of public schools to allow for orderly, businesslike rearrangements in the financing plans of school districts, after Jan. 1, whatever arrangements for state participation in public school support are in effect on Feb. 15 shall be considered binding on the state for the school year beginning on July 1 following, and any changes in the state support law made subsequent to Feb. 15 of any calendar year shall not become effective until July 1 of the next succeeding calendar year.

Chapter 11. Employed Personnel

Sec. 1. No person shall be employed to teach as principal or assistant in any school supported wholly or in part by public money, and no person shall be employed as a visiting teacher, truant officer, school nurse, bus driver, or full-time janitor, unless such person shall have a certificate of qualification issued by or under the authority of the commissioner of education in accordance with rules and regulations established by the state board of education. And in case any school district shall pay or cause to be paid any of the public money to any person for teaching as aforesaid who did not, at the time of such teaching, hold such certificate, then the commissioner of education shall deduct a sum equal to the amount so paid from the amount of the state's money due, or which may thereafter become due, such school district before giving his order in favor of such school district for any of the public money under the provisions of this chapter or of Chap. 17.

Sec. 2. The commissioner of education, with the approval of the state board of education, may provide a rating system to be applied to candidates for teaching positions in the state. He shall make the results of such ratings available to the

superintendents of schools in the state for their use in making nominations for positions in their school districts. He may from time to time submit to the boards of education comparisons of persons whom they have appointed with those who are available for appointment.

Sec. 3. The superintendent of schools may at any time require a medical examination of any or all of the teachers and other employees of the school district, and the report of such examination shall be submitted to the superintendent for appropriate action.

Sec. 4. (Omitted matter deals with provision for annulment of certificates, permissive legislation for stimulating employment of specialized personnel, and responsibility of teachers for keeping records and making reports.)

CHAPTER 12. SALARIES, TENURE, PENSIONS, AND RETIREMENT OF TEACHERS

Sec. 1. The state board of education shall develop a minimum salary schedule for teachers in keeping with the foundation level of school support as defined in Chap. 8.

Secs. 2–10. (Tenure provisions.)

Secs. 11–16. (Certification and retirement provision.)

Sec. 17. The school board may require teachers to carry personal liability insurance, or the board may provide such insurance.

CHAPTER 13. BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Sec. 1. The fiscal year for the school district shall begin on July 1 and end on June 30.

Sec. 2. Prior to Dec. 1 of each year the superintendent of schools shall plan the budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1 of the following calendar year, utilizing, as far as he finds feasible, assistance of members of the staff of the school system and interested members of the community for the purpose of assuring as nearly as possible that the educational budget shall be an expression of an evolving educational plan for the community. This budget shall be presented to the board of education at a meeting early in December. From the time of this meeting until Mar. 1, the board shall have the duty of weighing the proposals in the budget over against the will of the people of the school district and the needs of the state. To facilitate these considerations there shall be at least one conference with interested members of the public and at least one conference with interested members of the employed personnel. At each conference it shall be the duty of the superintendent of schools and such members of the educational staff as he may designate to discuss the budget proposals with respect to their adequacy to meet the educational needs of the community. On or before Apr. 1, but not prior to Mar. 1, the budget for the next fiscal year shall be adopted and the total tax requirements thereof certified to the tax collectors so that the proper tax rates may be levied.

Sec. 3. In districts of the first class the responsibility for adopting the budget shall be that of the board of education and of the board alone; in districts of the second class the responsibility for adopting the budget shall be the responsibility of a school financial meeting.

Sec. 4. The budget shall be prepared in accordance with standards of the state board of education in order that it may meet educational needs as nearly as may be and at the same time be appropriately related to the financial accounting system. The superintendent of schools shall submit the proposed budget to the commissioner of education not less than 60 days before the date set for the approval of the budget by the board of education or the school financial meeting, as the case

may be. The superintendent shall accompany the proposed budget with a statement showing his computations of the expenditure requirements placed upon the school district by Chap. 8. The commissioner of education shall audit this statement and report to the superintendent of schools in not less than 15 days after the receipt of the report indicating that the superintendent's analysis is correct or, if not correct, what modifications are required. He may also transmit at any time within 30 days after the receipt of the proposed budget any suggestions for change which he may have, which suggestions shall be transmitted to the board of education.

Sec. 5. The budget as finally adopted may not provide for less than the foundation level of support as defined in Chap. 8.

Sec. 6. The superintendent of schools and the board of education shall prepare annually a report to the school district setting forth their doings, the state and condition of the schools, and plans for their improvement, as related to the proposed budget. This report shall be made available to the public by general distribution, by publication in the press, by presentation at budget conferences, or by any combination of these methods, and this report shall be submitted to the commissioner of education before Mar. 1.

Sec. 7. The budget thus adopted shall be utilized as a spending plan for the succeeding fiscal year, to be varied from only by majority vote of the entire board of education at a meeting in the call for which this purpose has been specifically announced; *Provided, however*, that in case the school financial meeting of a second-class district for school purpose approves a greater or smaller amount than was contemplated in the budget submitted by the board of education, the board may recast its budget in the light of the total amount to be available. This recasting must be finally determined and reported to the commissioner of education not later than 30 days after the school financial meeting.

Sec. 8. The purchase of supplies and materials and the contracting for maintenance service shall be in accordance with rules and regulations of the board of education; *Provided, however*, that no purchase of supplies or equipment amounting to more than $250 may be made without bids.

Sec. 9. The board of education shall arrange for an outside audit to be made according to standards established by the state board of education and reported to the public as the state board of education shall prescribe. In case of failure of the board to meet this requirement, the commissioner of education shall arrange for an adequate audit, and the cost thereof shall be assessed against the district.

Sec. 10. In the payment of bills the board of education shall operate according to rules and regulations established by the state board of education.

Sec. 11. In case a school district is six months or more delinquent in its payment of nonresident tuition, the creditor district may lay the facts before the commissioner of education, and, on confirmation of the facts, the commissioner of education shall order the withholding of the amount of the delinquency from the next state aid payment of the debtor district and its payment to the creditor district.

Chapter 14. Welfare of Pupils

Sec. 1. The board of education of each school district shall cause a continuing census of the children from birth to twenty-one years of age to be kept and to be amended from day to day so that there shall always be on file in the office of the superintendent of schools a complete census giving the following information:

Name, age, sex, school attendance and grade, literacy, physical and mental condition, parent's or guardian's name and residence, nature, place, and extent of employment, if any, and any other information which may be required by regulations of the board of education. If any parent or guardian shall refuse to give the above information in regard to his children or wards, or shall knowingly or wilfully falsify such information, he shall be fined not exceeding $20.

Sec. 6. The board of education may purchase liability insurance for vehicles used in the transportation of pupils.

Sec. 18. The board of education may provide, at the expense of the school district, proper treatment for children found to be suffering from sight, hearing, or dental defects or conditions arising therefrom, whose parents or guardians or custodians neglect to provide proper treatment within one month after receiving a notice of the need thereof as required by this chapter.

Sec. 19. The commissioner of education from time to time shall approve proper standards of lighting, heating, ventilating, seating, and other sanitary arrangements of school buildings, and proper regulations concerning the same as he may deem necessary for the safety and health of persons who may attend school, and shall communicate the same to the board of education of each school district.

Note: The omitted numbers are for child labor, compulsory attendance, power to suspend pupils, duty to provide transportation, requirement of physician's certificate for admission to school, appointment of visiting teachers, provision for dealing with truancy, provisions for medical examination of pupils, etc.

Chapter 15. The Cooperative Educational Workshop

Note: This is a design for a plan to extend state department services without involving shifting of control from school districts.

Sec. 1. There shall be within the state department of education an agency to be supported by participating school districts to be known as the cooperative educational workshop, which shall provide administrative and leadership services of all types associated with the work of boards of education and their administrative and supervisory staffs, including in-service education of teachers, curriculum development, child study and guidance, business management, and general administration which cannot be economically provided by individual school districts.

Sec. 2. The cooperative workshop shall serve all school districts with less than 3,000 pupils in attendance in public schools and such other school districts as may elect to participate in all or part of its work.

Sec. 3. The cooperative workshop shall be under the control of the workshop board and under the administrative leadership of the commissioner of education.

Sec. 4. The workshop board shall consist of seven members appointed by the commissioner of education with the approval of the state board of education from among the superintendents of the school districts served by the workshop. The members of the board shall serve for three-year terms beginning on July 1; *Provided, however*, that the first appointments to this board shall be by the commissioner of education with terms to begin at once but the period of service to be counted from July 1, two for three years, two for two years, and three for one year. No member of the workshop board shall be eligible for reappointment until one year has elapsed after the completion of a term of service.

Sec. 5. The commissioner of education, with the advice of the workshop board, shall prepare the plans for the workshop and prepare a budget of expenditures required. Upon approval by the workshop board of a budget amounting to not

more than 50 cents per pupil in all the school districts to be served, unless said limitation shall be increased in the manner provided in Sec. 8 of this chapter, the commissioner of education shall allocate the amount of the budget to the participating districts on the basis of average daily attendance of all resident pupils in the next preceding year and shall notify the state treasurer and the boards of education of the same. The state treasurer shall withhold the amounts so certified from the next payments of state support made in accordance with Chap. 10, Secs. 1 to 7, inclusive, and place them to the credit of the workshop. The boards of education concerned shall order the amounts so withheld to be recorded as an expenditure in the same way as other expenditures for supervision are recorded; *Provided, however*, that for the first fiscal year after the adoption of this act four-fifths of the amount so budgeted shall be paid from the general treasury and one-fifth shall be assessed upon the cooperating school districts; for the second fiscal year three-fifths shall be paid from the general treasury and two-fifths shall be assessed upon the cooperating districts; for the third fiscal year two-fifths shall be paid by the general treasury and three-fifths shall be assessed upon the cooperating communities; for the fourth fiscal year one-fifth shall be paid from the general treasury and four-fifths shall be assessed upon the cooperating districts; for the fifth fiscal year and for each year thereafter, the entire cost of the cooperative workshop shall be assessed upon the cooperating districts.

Sec. 6. Payments from this fund shall be made on order of the commissioner of education by the workshop board.

Sec. 7. The state treasurer, in accordance with the budget as approved, shall transfer any unencumbered balance remaining in the sum allotted to the workshop at the end of any fiscal year to the permanent school fund for the permanent increase thereof.

Sec. 8. When 5 years have elapsed after the adoption of the act, the minimum amount of 50 cents per pupil, specified in Sec. 5 of this chapter, may be increased by a vote of the majority of the boards of education of the participating districts.

Sec. 9. The staff of the cooperative workshop shall be appointed by the workshop board on nomination of the commissioner of education.

Sec. 10. Workshop expenditures may be made for full-time and part-time employees, for the payment of persons employed by school districts as substitutes for persons brought into the workshop for a period of service, for outside expert service, and for equipment, books, materials, and travel.

Sec. 11. The state department of education shall provide adequate housing together with light, heat, and janitor service without cost to the workshop.

Chapter 16. Improvement of Instruction

Sec. 1 to 3. (Scholarships for teachers, conferences, etc.)

Sec. 4. There shall be included in the annual budget of the state department of education a sum of money to be used to assist superintendents of schools to take periods of leave for study, in accordance with the rules and regulations of the state board of education.

Chapter 17. Vocational Education

Sec. 1. Whenever any school district shall establish and maintain a class or classes conforming to the vocational standards prescribed by the state board for vocational education and which shall have received the approval of the board, said school district shall be reimbursed out of federal funds, in conformity with the state

plan for vocational education executed between the state board for vocational education and the United States office of education, and, in addition, such school district may be reimbursed out of state funds an amount which in no case shall exceed 50 per cent of the expenditures for salaries of vocational education teachers. The controller is hereby authorized and directed to draw his orders upon the general treasurer for the payment of such sum or sums for such reimbursement upon receipt by him of proper vouchers and approved by the state board for vocational education.

Sec. 2. Whenever any school district shall find it impracticable or inexpedient to conduct a vocational program, or whenever any school district finds it inexpedient or impracticable to conduct vocational classes of a particular type, such school district may, with the approval of the state board for vocational education, send such pupils as it deems desirable to a school or schools where the desired instruction is being given, at a rate of tuition determined by the commissioner of education. The state board for vocational education shall reimburse said school district an amount equal to actual expenditures for tuition upon the receipt of properly authenticated vouchers, and said school districts shall also be reimbursed an amount equal to the actual expenditure for transportation for said pupils or for maintenance in lieu of transportation.

Sec. 3. The state board for vocational education may establish and maintain in any school district a regional vocational school giving instruction in such vocational and related subjects as it considers necessary, and said board is hereby authorized to secure quarters and equipment, appoint teachers, and perform all the duties consistent with the operation of such a school. The state board for vocational education may provide for joint operation of such schools with the school districts in which they are established.

Sec. 4. Whenever any school district shall purchase vocational equipment for use in classes approved for reimbursement by the state board for vocational education, said school district shall be entitled to reimbursement up to 50 per cent of the amount expended for such equipment, provided said school district shall make application for such reimbursement and accompany said application with receipted vouchers showing purchases and amounts involved; *and provided further* that no school district shall be reimbursed, on the purchase of equipment in any one fiscal year, an amount in excess of $1500.

Sec. 5. (Provision for dealing with federal aid.)

Chapter 18. Adult Education

Sec. 1. Adult education schools and classes, including classes established for the purposes of promoting Americanization and citizenship in accordance with the provision of this chapter, shall be under the administration of the state department of education or under the joint administration of the state department of education and the school districts, in accordance with the rules and regulations of the state board of education.

Sec. 2. The support of schools or classes established in accordance with the provisions of this chapter may be provided either by the state alone, by the school districts alone, or jointly by the state and the school districts, according to plans developed by the state board of education, with the advice of the commissioner of education, and subject to such provisions as are made in the annual budget of the state department of education.

Secs. 3–5. (Other provisions dealing with evening schools, continuation schools, English for adults, citizenship for the foreign born, etc.)

Sec. 6. Any person who has completed 16 years of life and who has not completed 21 years of life, and who does not speak, read, and write English in accord with standards approved by the commissioner of education, who resides in a school district in which the board of education has made provision for the teaching of the English language in compliance with this chapter, who habitually absents himself from public instruction, is sufficiently irregular to make it impossible for him to complete 200 hours of instruction annually within the time set by the board of education for conducting such schools, and who is not attending private instruction approved by the board as provided in Sec. 5 of this chapter, may be fined for each wilful absence $1 and not exceeding $20 in the aggregate during one year for persistent refusal to attend such instruction, may be committed to an institution during his minority.

Chapter 19. Education of Deaf, Blind and Imbecile Children

Chapter 20. Education of Other Handicapped Children

Sec. 1. The state department of education shall establish classes for physically and mentally handicapped children afflicted with those types of handicaps the occurrence of which is so rare as to make adequate provision disproportionately costly for the smaller school districts.

Sec. 2. Such classes shall be established in accordance with plans approved by the state board of education and provided for in the annual budget of the state department of education.

Sec. 3. The plans for such classes shall, where the state board of education considers it desirable, provide for joint operation with the school districts in which the classes are established and joint support with the school districts benefited. These plans shall include provision for necessary transportation to and from school or for maintenance away from home, when necessary, and for appropriate medical or psychological services.

Chapter 21. Special Educational Provisions

(Various state-operated functions including rehabilitation)

Chapter 22. State Schools for the Deaf and Blind

Chapter 23. Higher Education

Chapter 24. Provisions Affecting Privately Supported Schools

Chapter 25. Chartering and Establishment of Colleges

LIST OF VISUAL AIDS

The following list of visual aids can be used to supplement some of the material in this book. These films can be obtained from the producer or distributor shown with each title. (The addresses of these producers and distributors are listed at the end of the bibliography.) In many cases these films can also be procured from your local film library or local film distributor; many universities have large film libraries from which these films can be borrowed.

The running time (min), whether it is silent (si), or sound (sd), or filmstrip (FS) are given with each title. All motion pictures are 16 mm; filmstrips are 35 mm.

Each film has been listed only once, usually in the first chapter to which it is applicable. However, in some cases it can be used advantageously in other chapters.

Films produced by the U.S. Office of Education have accompanying instructor's manuals. In many cases other films also have accompanying instructor's manuals.

CHAPTER III—PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF PURPOSE[1]

Infant Behavior: Early Stages (EBF 10min sd). Shows the activities and responses of an infant seated in a small chair. Compares same infant at different stages.

Infant Behavior: Later Stages (EBF 10min sd). Demonstrates increasing ability of infant to use hands in manipulating objects.

Posture and Locomotion (EBF 10min sd). Deals with the stages by which an infant advances from a helpless state to the stage where he is able to change position and posture at will. Presents a study of these phases of child's development from age eight to eighty weeks. Thirteen age levels are portrayed.

From Creeping to Walking (EBF 10min sd). Illustrates the correlation of abilities; continues the study begun in *Posture and Locomotion.*

Baby's Day at Twelve Weeks (EBF 10min sd). Follows an infant through his domestic day from time of waking until final feeding at night. An interpretation of the significance of his various reactions is offered.

Thirty-six Weeks Behavior (EBF 10min sd). Compares behavior

[1] All but the last deal with the potent growth concept.

now with that of infant at twelve weeks. Responses to the ministrations of father and mother are commented upon. First successful creeping efforts are observed.

Forty-eight Weeks Behavior (EBF 10min sd). Portrays wholesome methods of child care. Emphasis is placed upon psychological implications and the educational significance of the infant's everyday experiences.

Behavior Patterns at One Year (EBF 10min sd). Manipulation and other reactions are interpreted and discussed. Continues study of other test situations.

Learning and Growth (EBF 10min sd). Attempts to clarify some of the principles that govern the learning process. The possibilities and limitations of training infants from twenty-four to forty-eight weeks are discussed. Relationships between age, growth and learning, laws that determine learning, and several learning problems are discussed.

Early Social Behavior (EBF 10min sd). Shows manifestations of infant personality in a variety of social settings.

Life Begins (EBF 60min sd). Attention is directed to the need for a better understanding of the laws governing the infant's mental and physical growth so that a happier social order may be developed. Shows reactions to standardized tests.

Individual Differences in Arithmetic (EBF 20min sd). Illustrates three arithmatic diagnostic techniques.

CHAPTER IV—SOCIOECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF PURPOSE

And So They Live (NYU 25min sd). Shows the unsatisfactory relationship between education and local necessities of life in a rural community.

Children Must Learn (NYU 20min sd). Need for closer relation between school curriculum and realities of existence in poor mountain community.

Better Schools Make Better Citizens (Capital 30min sd). Role of school in developing good citizenship.

Learning to Live (BIS 15min sd). A summary of the educational system in England today without reference to the emergency conditions due to war.

Living and Learning in a Rural School (Columbia 20min sd). Shows the work of a small rural school in training the children to understand their community.

As Our Boyhood Is (NYU 18min sd). Shows education for negroes in rural areas.

Calhoun—The Way to a Better Future (Harmon 15min si). How small, well-run school for negroes in poor areas of Alabama inspires to better living.

Thousand Hours (JH 11min sd). An orientation film that stimulates a student's interest in studying basic subjects by using aviation for motivation.

Aptitudes and Occupations (Coronet 16min sd). Discusses the six fundamental human abilities—mechanical, clerical, social, musical, artistic, and scholastic.

Guidance Problem for School and Home (Columbia 20min sd). Case of a boy who has poor social adjustment; the attitude of his parents, and the role of his teacher.

Guidance in the Public Schools (EBF 20min sd). Shows some of the problems of organizing and administering guidance in public schools.

Where Dollars Make Sense (DeVry 20min sd). Personal and public benefits in a sound educational program; what schools should provide and cost involved.

CHAPTER V—EMERGING DESIGN OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AS RELATED TO PURPOSES[1]

Hand Made Lantern Slides (Gutlohn 10min si). Shows the technique for slide making.

Points on Slide Films (JH FS). Shows how to use slide films in the classroom.

Using Visual Aids in Training (USOE 14min sd). Shows carefully planned procedure involving the use of a visual aids unit.

Bringing the World to the Classroom (EBF 20min sd). Demonstrates how the sound film facilitates learning.

Teaching with Sound Films (EBF 11min sd). Shows methods for using sound films; primarily junior- and senior-high-school grade levels.

Overcoming Limitations to Learning (EBF 30min sd). Shows how limitations are overcome through the use of sound motion pictures.

Lessons from the Air (BIS 20min sd). How radio educational programs for British schools are planned and executed.

Principles of the Art and Science of Teaching (Iowa 55min sd). Illustrates the three basic principles of teaching.

Studies about Communication (A&B) 11min sd). Shows how learning is skillfully guided by teacher and pupil activity.

[1] Useful in demonstrating highly specific points.

Children Learn about Their Neighbors (Harmon 11min si). How Church School Primary Department interested children in social organization.

Romance of Exploration (Pasadena 40min si). Sixth-grade unit showing steps involved in preparing unit; development of language, spelling, arithmetic; preparation of a pageant.

Teaching of Reading (CFC 20min sd). Progressive methods for teaching reading.

California Reading Film (Cal 24min si). Best reading methods and techniques are illustrated.

A Child Went Forth (Brandon 20min sd). Teaching children from two to seven years of age.

Dynamic Learning (EBF 20min sd). Shows some of the principles underlying creative education.

CHAPTER VIII—POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Democracy (EBF 11min sd). Emphasizes a positive tolerance of others; defines democracy, economic balance, and enlightenment.

Despotism (EBF 11min sd). Introduces a "scale" for measuring actual degree of performance in democracy or despotism.

Pop Rings the Bell (NSSI 23min sd). Story of typical school in typical American community whose principal is fully alive to the new responsibility of his teaching job. The central figure is "Pop," the school's custodian.

CHAPTER XVI—RESEARCH, EXPERIENCE AND FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Found in a Book (B&H 20min si). Shows value and correct use of library facilities.

Portrait of a Library (MMA 20min sd). How a community library contributes to the education and recreation of its members.

SOURCES OF FILMS LISTED ABOVE

A&B—Akin & Bagshaw, 2023 East Colfax Avenue, Denver, Colo.

B&H—Bell & Howell Company, 1801 Larchmont Avenue, Chicago.

BIS—British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

Brandon Films, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York 19.

Cal—University of California, Extension Division, 301 California Hall, Berkeley, Calif.

Capital Film Services, 1043 East Grand River Avenue, East Lansing, Mich.

Castle Films, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Center, New York 20.

CFC—College Film Center, 84 East Randolph Street, Chicago 1.

Coronet Instructional Films, Glenview, Ill.

DeVry Films, 1111 Armitage Avenue, Chicago 14.

EBF—Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1841 Broadway, New York.

Gutlohm, Walter O., Inc., 25 West 45th Street, New York 19.

Harmon Foundation, 140 Nassau Street, New York.

JH—Jam Handy Organization, 2900 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit, 11, Mich.

Iowa—University of Iowa, Department of Visual Instruction, Iowa City, Iowa.

MMA—Museum of Modern Art, 11 West 53rd Street, New York 20.

NSSI—National School Service Institute, 307 Palmer House, Chicago.

NYU—New York University, Film Library, Washington Square, New York 3.

Pasadena City Schools, Library & Visual Service, 1501 East Villa Street, Pasadena, Calif.

USOE—U.S. Office of Education (Obtainable from Castle Films, Inc.)

INDEX

A

Abilities of pupils, 63, 326
Ability to support (*see* Support)
Academic freedom, 53
Accounting, 165, 169, 182
Achievement of purposes, tests, 13
Adaptability, 195–224, 230, 237, 265, 266, 270, 273, 274, 281, 293, 295, 307, 311
  financial limitations, 215
  hampered by prudential arrangements, 173
  in other fields, 198
  related to flexibility, 225
    to stability, 235
      and flexibility, 195
  and sparsely settled areas, 216
Adaptability of Public School Systems, 95, 196
Adaptation, short cuts to, 202
  statewide steps in, 211
  time curve, 200
Adaptations, 308
Adequacy, principle, 11–88
Adler, Mortimer, 40
Administration, 244, 262, 263, 266, 274, 275, 288, 289, 292, 294, 341, 344
  democratic, limiting factors, 104
    scope, 103
  and flexibility, 226
  pattern, and adaptability, 208
  school, power classification, 263
    (*See also* Operation)
Administration of the Modern Secondary School, 333
Administrative discretion, 293
Administrative justice, shortcomings, 143
Administrative machinery, 290
Administrative officers, 296, 309
Administrative organization and limited interest of staff, 204
Administrative plans, 292–294
  (*See also* Operational plans)
Administrative policies and adaptability, 205
Administrative problems, classification, 5
Administrative responsibility, 287
Administrative structure and administrative procedure, 225
Administrator, school, 251, 255, 271, 280, 293, 304, 305, 321
  administrative initiative, 275
  and his coworkers, 12
  subordinate, 294
    (*See also* Superintendent of Schools and Administration)
Admission to school, 110
Adult education, 366
Age, beyond high school, 84
Aid (*see* Support)
Alabama, 295
  boards of school trustees, 137
Alexander, Carter, 334
American Commonwealth, 96, 130, 163
American Institutions, 96
American School Board Journal, 334
American Schools in Transition, 73, 92, 210, 216, 254, 334
American Teacher, The, 333
Analogy, reasoning from, 252
Analyses, available, inadequacy, 256
Analysis, functional, 251
Annual promotion, 235, 236
Anthropology and administrator, 93
Appraisal, 239, 266, 332
Aptitudes, 61
Arithmetic, 234
Arkansas, 215
Art, 70
  and community life, 180
  creative, 227
  inadequate adaptation, 203

Ashby, Edgar, 309
Attendance, 267
Auditing accounts, 270, 289
  preaudits, 270
  state, responsibility and authority, 186
Authority, delegation of, 295
  and responsibility, 300
Authority in the Modern State, 311
Autocratic administration, 101, 104
Avenel, Georges, 121

B

Backward areas, 296
Bacon, F. L., 333
Balanced judgment, 94, 109, 237, 255, 261–279, 284
  and changes in control structure, 186
Balz, Albert G. A., 271
Barr, A. S., 333
Basis of Social Theory, The, 271
Bentham, Jeremy, 23, 163
Best practice and adaptability, 202
Board of education, local, 112, 226, 227, 242, 272, 275, 281–283, 287, 288, 290, 291, 293, 300, 301, 304, 305, 309, 312, 353
  as administrative body, 287
  clerk of board, 289
  committee, on finance, 289
    on law, 291
    on public relations, 289
  as department of municipal government, 301, 312
  dual nature of powers, 286
  duties of officers, 340, 344
  election of board, 111, 283, 284
  elections and stability, 242
  ethics, 287
  legal status, chart, 302
  legislation, 340
  as legislative body, 285
  meetings, 290, 339, 344
    for studying education, 209
  members, 291
  organization, 339, 344
  powers, 100, 282, 285
  president of board, 289
Board of education, separate ballot, 285
  size and stability, 242, 283
  standing committees, 289–292
  as state agent, 103
  state school board association, 292
  term, length, 283
  terms and stability, 242
  vote for membership, 102
Board rules and regulations, 101, 110, 264–265, 280, 282, 285–287, 289, 293, 294, 309
  administrative code vs. administrative plans, 283
  application to individual cases, 286
  Green Willows Code, 285–292, 336–346
  procedural systems, rules, or laws, 109
  reappraisal, 227
  unanimous consent, 286
Bonding, 245
Book Review Digest, 334
Borah, William E., 118, 122
Brecht, Arnold, 147
Britton, Ernest R., 112
Brownlow, Louis, 314
Brueckner, Leo J., 333
Bryce, Lord James, 96, 130, 163
Budget, 101, 102, 243, 245, 265, 274, 275, 291, 301, 312
  as control instrument, 289
  degree of participation, 110
  as focus of public participation, 129
  hearings, 101, 111, 264
  justification budget, 274
  justification for expenditures, 289
  preaudits, 270, 309
  procedure, 230
  procedures bearing on adaptability, 205
  reviewing bodies, 312
  stable, 244
Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, 335
Buros, O. K., 334
Burton, William H., 333
Business administration, 343, 346, 362
  awarding contracts, 6
  inventories of physical properties, 6

Business administration, obtaining bids, 6
requisitioning, 6
Business Administration of Public Schools, 334

C

California, 213, 245
Cape Province, Union of South Africa, 295
Capital outlay, 283
in relation to minimum program, 166
Campbell, Doak S., 333
Caswell, Hollis L., 333
Central control (*see* Control)
Central officers, and adaptability, 308, 309
power to make decisions, 301
Central support (*see* Support)
Centralization, 319
Centralized versus Decentralized Government in Relation to Democracy, 172
Centralized systems, 214
Certificating bodies, 228
Certification of teachers, 230
Challman, R. C., 333
Chambers of commerce, 112
Change, deliberate, time for, 235
facility of, 293
without notice, 179
rate of, 290
Chapman, Sydney J., 315
Character, 61, 63, 72
and personality adjustment, 327
Checks and balances, 169–170, 266, 270, 294
Chevillard, Jules, 136
Chief state school officers (*see* State Department of Education)
Child development, 40
Child Development, Abstracts and Bibliography, 334
Child Development Institute of Teachers College, 41
Child study, 290
Child-centered school, 61
Children under six, 84
Chipman, Nathaniel, 196
Church influences, and democracy, 134
Cities, large (*see* School districts and City school systems)
Citizenship, 17
City charters (*see* City school systems)
City government, 301
Civic competence, developing, 329
Civilian Conservation Corps, 155, 321
Clark, Harold F., 17
Class size, 229, 254
prudential considerations, 168
small classes, 253
Clinical services, 61
College preparatory school, 321
College-entrance requirements, 106
Columbia Law Review, 310
Comenius, Johann Amos, 39, 41, 63
Commission on the Legal Structure of Rhode Island Public Education, 228, 267, 322
Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education, 14
Common culture, 238
Common-sense judgment, 91–98, 251, 263, 274, 319, 320
Community, 2, 66, 225, 226, 229, 264, 270, 274, 280, 284, 288, 290–292, 294–296, 301, 304, 306
character of, related to adaptability, 255
environment and pupil freedom, 227
forums, 294
groups and adaptability, 209
guaranteed participation as safeguard for democracy, 111
influence on adaptability, 205
interpretation of results in terms of community to achieve simplicity, 180
as policy determiner, 274
school and, practices, 330
source of subject matter, 107
utilizing resources as simplification, 178
work patterns, need of, 53
Complaints, lodging of, 105
Complexity, dangers from, 182
Conceptual design, 253, 262, 265, 266, 275, 277, 319, 321
Connecticut, 312
regional councils of citizens, 134

Conservatism, 240
Constitution, teaching, 16
Constitutional action, 302
  provisions, 282
  responsibility, 295
Constitutionality, 319
Constitutions, 320
Contract, equity, 147
Contracts, prudential safeguards, 169
Control of City School Finances, 313
Control of education, 225, 318, 319
  central agents, use of, 314
  central officers, power to make decisions, 301
  city charters, 280, 282, 301
  federal agencies, 319
  lay, diluted, 127
  local, importance of maintaining, 137
    objectives, failure to define, 136
  local agents, use of, 314
  minimum local tax, 215
  powers, central, 305
    local, extent of, 280
    necessarily implied, 280
    punitive, of central officers, 281
  prohibitions, 285
  prudential, danger to competent individuals, 172, 173
  prudential safeguards, 171
  as school of citizenship, 121
  separability of finance and control, corporation experience, 316
  standards, local powers over, 301
    (*See also* Discretion, use of; Home rule; Mandatory legislation; Minimum requirements; State regulation; and Structure)
Control and finance, differentiation between, 296, 313, 314, 316
Cooling-off periods, 234, 242, 284
Cooperation with private agencies and public agencies, 184
Cornell, Francis G., 71, 73, 75, 92, 95, 196, 197, 199, 210, 216, 254, 334
County board of supervisors, 306
County school districts (*see* School districts, local)
County superintendent, 272
Courses of study, local, 288
  state, 229
Courts, 228, 270, 272, 275, 280–283, 300, 303, 305, 308, 309, 320, 324, 352
  decisions, 280
  and justice, 143
  and structure, 319
Creative vs. pathological interpretation of trends, 55
Creative work, 229
Crippled, schools for, and equality of opportunity, 155
Cubberley, Ellwood P., 209, 210, 229, 262, 321, 333
Cultural heritage, 234, 239
Curriculum, 228, 229, 235, 239, 280, 290, 304, 305, 309
  changes in without notice, 179
Curriculum of the Common School, The, 334
Curriculum Development, 333
Cushman, C. Leslie, 334

D

Debt service, 246
Decentralization, 296
Declaration of Independence, 284
Delaware, 212
Demand for goods, increase of, 50
Democracy, and adaptability, 206
  and administrative discretion, 99–115, 264, 265, 272–274, 288, 295, 308
    capacity to participate, 125
  political, 116–141, 242, 263, 265, 270, 300, 307
    operational procedures, 138
    related to prudence, stability, adaptability and flexibility, 134, 135
    procedure and stability, 241
    as prudence, 189
Democracy in America, 261
Democracy and Education, 333
Democratic objectives vs. device of close popular control, 136
Departmentalization, 106, 227, 229
Development of Local Government, 311
Dewey, John, 23, 96, 333
Diagnostic tests, 61
Disciplinary cases, 102

Discipline, 6
Discretion, discretionary acts, 6
discretionary powers, 282
and prudence, 170
making exceptions, 293
unwise use of, and safeguards against, 171
use of, 270, 281, 293, 301, 308
(*See also* Control)
Discussion groups, 291
Dormitories, 156
Dramatics, 227

E

Economic productivity, 17
Economic resources, 313
Economic status, family, and equality of opportunity, 155
Economics and the administrator, 93
Economy, 132, 161–169, 231, 255, 270, 272
Edmonson, J. B., 333
Education, power of, 61, 206
as state function, 299–301, 306, 307
Education for All American Youth, 333
Education for American Life, 316
Education between Two Worlds, 22
Education and Economic Well-being in American Democracy, 333
Education week, 167, 294
Educational Abstracts, 334
Educational Administration as Social Policy, 334
Educational Administration and Supervision, 335
Educational Conference Board of New York State, 25
Educational cycle, 234, 243
Educational Digest, 335
Educational finance (*see* Support)
Educational Finance Inquiry Commission, 153, 183, 267
Educational Index, 334
Educational Leadership, 335
(*See also* Administration)
Educational level, 264
Educational objectives and humanitarian characteristics, 19
Educational Policies Commission, 15, 18, 60, 333
Educational practice, patterns of, 325–331
Educational process related to objectives, 290, 291
Educational program, 102, 230, 241, 290, 356
scope and character of, 283
Educational Psychology, 333
Educational Record, The, 335
Educational Research Association, 252
Educational returns for money spent, 296
Electorate, powers of, 282, 283
Elementary School Organization and Administration, 333
Elsbree, Willard S., 333
Empirical knowledge, 91, 251–258, 263
test of basic principles, 255
Employees (*see* Personnel)
Encyclopedia of Educational Research, 34, 252, 256, 334
Encyclopedia of Modern Education, 334
Engelhardt, Fred, 333
Engelhardt, N. L., 333
England, 310
Englehart, Max D., 334
English Local Government, 306
Enrich, Alvin C., 334
Equality, of opportunity, 152–160, 293, 295
and those favored by nature, 156
Equipment, 246
Etat moderne, L', 317
European practice, influence of, 62
Evaluation of Modern Education, An, 334
Evidence, rules for interpreting, 252
Evolution as opposed to revolution, and stability, 234
Excursions, 227
Exhibits, 167
Expenditure of funds, prudential safeguards, 169
Expenditure levels, 230, 265
of schools, and adaptability, 208
in United States, 213, 214
Expenditures, 255, 274, 309
Experimental period, 308
Extracurricular activities, 5

F

Fairlie, John A., 136
Family, habits of living, 61
Farnsworth, Philo T., 199
Federal Constitution, 284
Federal government, 308, 319
Federal support for education (*see* Support)
Finance and control, separability of, 296, 313, 314, 316
Financial ability (*see* Support)
Financing of Education in the State of New York, 153
Financing of schools (*see* Support)
Finer, Herman, 118, 306
Fiscal Administration of City School Systems, 183
Fiscal independence, 125, 183, 243, 255, 256, 265, 307, 313
  limitation on property taxes, 183
  specified millage, 184
Flanders, Jesse K., 172
Flexibility, 225–233, 265, 266, 270, 271, 293, 295, 308
  and complexity, 231
  hampered by prudential arrangements, 173
Formal discipline, 33, 36
Foundations of Curriculum Building, 334
France, 309
Frasier, George W., 313
Freedom, academic, 53
Fundamentals of Public School Administration, 333

G

Gates, Arthur I., 333
German municipality, 308
Germany, 311
Good, Carter V., 334
Good-will towards education, related to adaptability, 206
Government, 284
  prudential attitude toward, 190
  regard for our system of, as objective, 16
Government workers. increase of, 51
Governmental structure, 299
Great Didactic, 39
Greek literature, 234
Grossnickle, Foster E., 166
Growth and good teaching, 39, 254
Guidance, 253, 290
Guide for Self-appraisal of School Systems, 71
Gulick, Luther H., 316

H

H. M. Pulham, Esquire, 92
Haig, Robert M., 148, 153, 210, 266, 267
Hallenbeck, Wilbur, 209
Hamilton, Robert R., 144, 293, 333
Handicapped children, 367
Health guidance, 61
Health and safety, 328
Henry, Nelson B., 185
High school, 272, 308
High schools, choice of, 272
High-school entrance and simplicity, 179
Highway construction and centralization, 231
Holcombe, Arthur N., 132
Home competence, developing, 328
Home life, changes in, 49
Home owners, percentage, trend and adaptability, 207
Home rule, 22, 228, 230, 273, 283, 294–296, 305, 308–310
  historical arguments, 310, 318
  legal status, 307
    weaknesses from lack of, 308
  private enterprise argument, 318
  prudential argument for home rule, 315, 318
  related to lack of central inspection, 308
  and stability, 241
  state mandate, increase in, 283
  (*See also* Control)
Homogeneous grouping, 254
Housing projects and ability to support schools, 245
How to Locate Educational Information and Data, 334

How to think, teaching, 63, 68, 326
and simplicity, 181
Human nature and schools, 100
Humanitarian principles (*see* Principles)
Hutchins, Robert 40
Hutchinson, Ruth Gillette, 317, 318

I

Ideology and Utopia, 59, 95
Immigrants, 54
Indiana, 295
Individual, regard for, 330
Individual differences, 37
Industry and labor, trends in, 48
Inertia, 188–189
Information, collection of, 301
Innovations, 281
Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, 162
Institutions, educational, planning, 55
Instruction, improvement of, 365
Insurance, 246
centralized, 231
Integration, 238
Intelligence, 61
Intercultural relations, 50
Interest, 41
Invention, 229
Iowa Welfare Research Station, 41

J

James, William, 35
Jersild, A. T., 333
Job placement, 85
Journal of Educational Research, 335
Journal of Public Administration, 309
Junior college, 85
as simplification, 178
Justice, 142–151, 264–266, 272, 273, 293, 295
administrative, 143, 320
judicial, 143
systematization aspects of administration and, 142
Juvenile maladjustment, 49

K

Kalamazoo case, 281, 309
Kant, Emmanuel, 21, 99
Kentucky, 312
Kerwin, Jerome K., 185
Knott, W. D., 217
Knowledge, basic, 63, 254, 325
Knox, Samuel, 16

L

Lag, and fear of liberty, 171
Laski, Harold Joseph, 311
Law as composite institution, 102
Law and Public Education, The, 333
Lawler, Eugene S., 213
Lay personnel, to supplement services of teachers, 76
Lay understanding, 53
Leadership, 74, 295
Legal adviser, 281
Legal machinery, 321
Legal structure, 321
Legal theory, 273, 299, 303, 305, 311
and state aid, 305
Legislation, 229, 293, 301, 305
certification of teachers, 230
courses of study, 229
mandatory, 172, 226, 228, 266, 283, 285, 301, 308, 309
minimum local tax, 245
minimum requirements, 229
prudential, 230
regulatory, 228, 230, 271
school code, 289, 321
special, 280
standardization, 226, 228
unlicensed teachers, 281
Legislative bodies, 234
Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum, 172
Legislative powers, 281
Legislature as state school board, 301
Legislatures, 117, 270, 282, 283, 295, 302, 303, 305, 306
Leisure time, use of, 50
Leonard, John Paul, 334
Liberty and license, 170–173, 273
Library books, 246
Lighthouse communities, 24
Lighthouse level of support, 296

Lighthouse school systems and adaptability, 212
Lilienthal, David E., 138
Line and staff organization, 2, 265, 294
Linton, Ralph, 199
Literature and community life, 180
Local Autonomy for School Communities in Cities, 218, 305
Local control (*see* Control)
Local Government and State Aid: An Essay, 315
Local initiative, 306, 309
Local needs, 229
Local self-government, 310
(*See also* Home rule)
Local sovereignty, 308
Longfellow, Henry W., 12
Louisiana, 320
Loyalties, 187–188

M

McBain, Howard Lee, 310
McConnell, T. R., 333
McGaughy, J. R., 183
Maeterlinck, Maurice, 42
Maine, 132, 133, 216
Mandatory legislation (*see* Legislation, mandatory)
Mannheim, Karl, 59, 95
Marking systems, 237
Marquand, J. P., 92
Materials, instructional, 246
Mayors, governors, park commissioners, compared with school administrators, 118
Meiklejohn, Alexander, 22, 40
Mental Measurements Yearbook, 334
Method, comparative, 266
historical, 266
Methodology of Educational Research, The, 334
Metropolitan School Study Council, 62, 208
Michigan, 309
Michigan Department of Public Instruction, 334
Midyear entrance, 236
Mill, John Stuart, 121
Minimum local tax, 245
Minimum support and adaptability, 213
Minorities and loyalties, 188
Moehlman, Arthur B., 333
Monroe, Walter S., 334
Morier, R. B. D., 120
Morrison, Henry C., 334
Mort, Paul R., 4, 71, 73, 75, 81, 92, 95, 144, 196, 197, 199, 210, 216, 254, 293, 333, 334
Moving pictures, 303
Municipal corporations, 310
Municipal government, 117, 283, 300, 307, 308, 311–313
budget, 243
contrast with school government, 300
control of educational policy, 183
cooperation with, 185
functions, 313
and state aid to schools (*see* State aid)
Music, 227
and community life, 180

N

National Education Association, 14
National Educational Research Bulletin, 335
National government, 291, 307
National Municipal Review, 306
National Research Council, 334
National Tax Association, 314, 316
National Youth Administration, 156, 320, 321
Nation's Schools, The, 335
Nature study, 227
New England, 321
New Hampshire, 132
New Jersey, 212, 213, 312
New needs, 229
New Osceola, school code for, 347
New York City, 217, 295, 296
local school boards, 137
New York State, 77, 213, 215, 245, 303, 320
New York State Educational Conference Board, 61
New York Times, 26, 185
Newcomer, Mabel, 315, 316, 318
Newell, Clarence A., 81, 219

Newlon, Jesse H., 334
Nonpromotion, 61
  and simplicity, 178
Nonpublic schools, attendance at, trend and adaptability, 207
Nonteaching personnel, 105, 106, 168, 281, 282
North Carolina, 132, 231
Norton, John K., 213, 334
Norton, Margaret Altucker, 334

O

Objectives (*see* Purposes)
Occupational retraining, 51
Occupations, service, 51
Odgers, William Blake, 118
Official Report of the American Association of School Administrators, 6
Ohio, 303, 312
Oklahoma, 312
Operation, 263, 282, 288, 321
  central, 303
  free vs. organized administration, 109
  local, 303
  patterns of, 5
  plans, administration of, 288
    formulation of, 287
  political democracy, relation to, 126
  servicing the mechanism, 263
  setting, local, 280–298
    and adaptability, 205
Opportunity, equality of, 152–160, 261, 266, 272
Order of child life in classroom, 108
Osceola Code, 229, 321
Overageness, 61

P

Parents, 103, 181, 288, 294, 342, 345
  and primary teachers, 84
Parents' associations, 294
Parent-Teacher Association, 112, 294
Pasteur, Louis, 34
Patouillet, Joseph, 121
Pennsylvania, 73, 133, 145, 210, 212, 243, 254, 255, 303
People's college, 321
Perchot, J., 317, 318
Permissive legislation, 281
  lag, in relation to adaptability, 211
Personal interests vs. public interests, 172
Personality, 61, 72
Personnel, employed, 227, 229, 263, 264, 271, 281, 282, 287, 295, 331, 342, 346, 361
  absence of employees, 6
  adequacy of, 229
  administrative policy, participation in, 271
  age of staff and adaptability, 207
  changes in allocation of, 168
  classroom teachers, 290, 291, 294, 300
  competence, 53
    to vary procedures, 231
  contacts with community and adaptability, 207
  critical place in adaptation process, 212
  cultural contacts and adaptability, 207
  danger to, from overstressing of prudential considerations, 190
  employment of teachers, 291
  increased competence, 173
  married teachers and adaptability, 207
  men teachers and adaptability, 207
  new positions, 168
  as policy makers, 103, 106, 107
  preparation, 321
  professional staff, 288, 291, 292
  prudential considerations, 168
  selection of staff, 303–304
    and adaptability, 207
  standards, 230
  state agency, 313
  tenure, 243, 275
  understanding of power of education, 207
Pestalozzi, Johann H., 39, 41
Plant, use of by other than school groups, 6
Plato, 14
Policy, 290, 291
Politeness, 238
Political science and the administrator, 93

Political Science Quarterly, 315
Population, heterogeneity and adaptability, 216
Population trend and adaptability, 206, 207
Post high-school period, 61, 85
Practical politics, 93
Prall, Charles E., 334
Preschool, 61
Pressure groups, 131, 228, 291
Principals, 110, 294, 295, 304
Principles, defined, 4
  humanitarian, 99–160, 255, 256, 264, 293, 321
  listed, 96
Principles of Morals and Legislation, 163
Principles of State Interference, 305
Private and parochial schools, 320
Proceedings of the Annual Conference of Administrative Officers of Public and Private Schools, 335
Professional library, 251
Professional organizations, 292
Professional terminology and simplicity, 180
Progress of children, 236
Progressive Education Association, 42, 60
Projects and activities, 227
Promotion, annual, 235, 236
Prudential principles, 161–194, 245, 255, 256, 263–266, 270, 272–274, 289, 293, 295, 308, 315, 321
  related to stability, 239
Prussia, 309
Psychological Abstracts, 334
Psychology and the administrator, 31
Public, 263, 274, 281, 283
  as go-and-no-go gauge, 135
Public interests vs. personal interests, 172
Public opinion, 32
Public relations, 265, 274
  and adaptability, 206
  channels of expression, 2
  lay understanding, 266
  working with public, 24
Public School Administration, 333
Public School Business Administration, 333
Public School Finance, 4, 334
Public School Organization and Administration, 333
Publicity, 167, 274
Pupil freedom, 227
Pupils, 263, 294, 342, 345
  and adaptability, 208
  admission requirements, 6
  emergency care of injured and sick, 5
  participation in policy formation, 108
Purchasing goods or services, prudential safeguards, 169
Purposes of education, 11–88, 255, 265, 266, 275, 284, 290, 291
  objectives, changing, and prudence, 181

Q

Quarterly Review of Research, 252

R

Radio transcription, 229
Reading, 234
  as measuring stick in relation to simplicity, 179
  teaching of, and equality, 154
Realism in teaching, 38
Reeder, Ward G., 333
Reference reading, 227
Regents examinations, 106
Regimentation, 238
Reliability, 253
Repairs, 246
Reports to parents, 237
Research, 39, 251
  age of study in appraisal, 254
  hypotheses, 253
  major studies, 251
Resources, use of, 51
Responsibility, 288, 294
  and authority, 185–186
  for funds, prudential safeguards, 169
  reference to higher authority violation of, 186
Returns for money spent, 61, 164
  education week, 167
  exhibits, 167
  publicity, 167
Reusser, Walter C., 4, 334

Review of Educational Research, 335
Reward for effort, 266
Rhode Island, 73, 133, 228, 309
Ritchie, David G., 305
Rivlin, Harry N., 334
Robson, William A., 311
Roemer, J., 333
Rope, Frederick, 131
Rules and regulations (*see* Board rules, etc.)
Rural children, migration of, 49
Russell, William F., 34

S

Safeguarding popular government, 120
St. Louis, 300
Salary of employees, 227, 264
Sandiford, Peter, 35
Scates, Douglas E., 334
Schedule, class, 226
School Administration, 333
School administration (*see* Administration)
School buildings, 246
  and adaptability, 204
  unit costs, 165
School day, length of, 84
School districts, 229, 230, 266, 280, 283, 295, 301, 306, 308, 311, 313, 352
  charters, city, 280, 282, 301
  city regulations, 293
  consolidation, 225
    and loyalties, 187
  county, 295
  elections, 338
  inadequate, 306
  large cities, 294, 295, 300, 301, 304, 306, 311
  large cities vs. small districts, 294
  large school systems, 293, 296
  legal status, chart, 302
  local authorities, 281
  local powers, 305
  meetings, 337
  organization, 273, 305, 307
  partake of state sovereignty, 307
  population characteristics favorable to adaptability, 216
  reorganization, 264
School districts, rural, 273, 306, 307
  size, 267
  state agents, 301, 305
  tax freedom, 216
    (*See also* School systems, large)
School election, 284
School Executive, The, 335
School systems, large, 225
  and adequacy of staff, 219
  cities, large, 217–219, 283
  local school boards, 137
  neighborhoods in, 226
  school community in, 226
School week, 84
School year, 84
Schools and City Government, 185
Schools for Our Children, 133, 228, 322
Schuler, Herbert, 334
Schumpeter, Joseph, 315
Scientific method, 32, 91
Scientific Study of Educational Problems, 334
Second Report on a Plan of a Model System of State and Local Taxation, 314
Secondary school, 229
Semiannual promotion, 235, 236
Separability of finance and control (*see* Finance and Control, etc.)
Service occupations, 51
Sexson, John A., 6
Simplicity, 177–185, 255, 266
Sismondi, Jean Charles Leonard, 23
Skill in working together, 19
Skills, basic, 63, 254, 325
Smith, Adam, 17, 23, 146, 162
Smith, Harry P., 334
Smith, Joshua Toulmin, 120, 317, 318
Social and physical sciences, interplay of, 52
Social studies, 227, 236
Sociology and the administrator, 47, 93
Sound film, 229
Sparsely settled areas and adaptability, 216
Special classes and equality, 154
Special services, 6
Specialization of service and simplicity, 178

Speech techniques, 64
Spelling, 226
Stability, 234–248, 265, 266, 284
objective in teaching, 239
and our political system, 234
related to adaptability, 225
(*See also* Principles)
Standardization, state, 226, 228
Standards of achievement, 6, 180
Standing committees (*see* Board of education)
State, the, 302, 306, 307
State agency, 282, 284
State agents, 281, 283
State aid, 264, 266, 281, 303, 360
and adaptability, 209
reward for effort, 266
and tax leeway, 184
(*See also* Support)
State and County Educational Reorganization, 229, 321
State department of education, 272, 282, 301–304
and adaptability, 210
advisory service, 303
board of education, state, 301, 349
certification of teachers, 301, 303
chief state school officer, 293, 309, 320, 351
distribution of school funds, 301
executive agent, 301
legal status, chart, 302
and licensing various types of professional and vocational workers, 303
operation by persuasion, 304
service agency, 303
State government, 314
State inspectors, 282
State school codes, 282
Osceola Code, 229
State superintendent, 272, 281
as chief justice, 144
Statutory law, principles of, 299
Strayer, George D., 148, 153, 210, 262, 266, 267
Structure, 264, 292, 299, 306–308, 311, 312
financial, 292
judicial, 287
Structure, legal, 5, 273, 287, 299–324
and equality of opportunity, 157
flexibility in, 228
internal, 282
local, and political democracy, 123
of local school systems related to responsibility, 185
political democracy, structural corollary, 138
of state school system, 212
state structure and operation, 132
structural pattern, educational government, 117
structural setting and justice, 147
organization, 294
responsibility for public education, allocation of, 348
state school system, 313
state-local relationships, 294
structural pattern, 303, 308, 320, 321
structure in flux, 320
(*See also* Control; Support)
Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy, 333
Studenski, Paul, 172
Students (*see* Pupils)
Study of Man, 199
Subject matter, 253
Summer school, 5
Superintendent of schools, 93, 101, 282, 285, 287–289, 291–293, 296, 308, 355
and board, 288
as chief administrative officer, 286
and district lines, 204
dynamic leadership, 275
executive officer, 287
executives, 291
field, 304
as mediating agent, 12
ministerial agent, 286, 287
power to nominate, 101
reports to public, 131, 251, 273
superintendent's library, 333
(*See also* Administrator; Administration)
Supervision; Principles and Practices in the Improvement of Instruction, 333
Supplementary material, 227

Supplementary reading as adaptation, 203
Supplies, 227
Support, 303
ability to, 266, 313
and housing projects, 245
and adaptability, 214
aid to child rather than to school, 321
central, 305, 313, 318
and equity, 148
federal, 314, 318
and flexibility, 229
local, 305, 357
and stability, 240, 245
state aid (*see* State aid)
(*See also* Taxation)
Surveys, 251
Symbiotic resources of communities, 218

T

Talents, 61
Tax leeway, 265, 308
related to adaptability, 206, 217
and state aid, 184
for schools used by municipalities, 184
Tax limit, 296, 312
Taxation, 280, 283, 296, 305, 308, 312
collection agencies, 312, 318
equity in, 149
reform, 54
state-administered, locally-shared taxes, 317
Taxing power, 313
Taxpayers, 102, 103, 309
Teacher Education in Service, 334
Teacher welfare, 111
Teachers, council, 111
inexperienced, 219
unlicensed, 281
Technical institutes, 85
Technology, 52
Tempo principles, 195–246, 256, 264, 293, 321
Tennessee Valley, 138
Tennessee Valley Authority, 134
Tensions in population, 48
Tenure (*see* Personnel)
Textbooks, 132, 226, 234, 254
Theory of Inquiry, 96
Tocqueville, Alexis De, 96, 121, 261, 262
Town meetings, 124, 243, 312
and stability, 242
Transfer of training, 34
Transferring from school to school, 226
Transportation, 132, 231, 273, 308
power to work out routes, 101
Treatment of individuals, 253
Trips, 227
Tuition, nonresident, 272

U

Underprivileged areas, 54
Uniformity, 225–228, 294
case for, 146
constitutional "uniformity" dilemma, 148
versus equality, 153
versus justice, 143
Union of South Africa, 212, 214, 275, 300
community school boards, 137
dormitories, 156
Unit costs, 164
buildings, 165
and categories of service, 166
misconceptions from business, 167
of supplies, 165
United States Government agencies, and schools, 54
United States Supreme Court, 148, 320
Unity, source of, 251
Urban and rural life, trends in, 49
Utah, 306
Utilization of school property, 308

V

Validity, 254
Variability, 252–253
Vincent, William S., 81
Vocational education, 365
as simplification, 178
Vocational school, 272
Vouchers, board action on, 289

W

Wealth, 241, 245
per pupil, and adaptability, 207
related to adaptability, 206
Weighted classroom unit. defined, 166
Welfare, general, 17
of pupils, 363
West Virginia, 306
Westby, Cleve O., 218, 305
What Does Research Say, 334
What Education Our Money Buys, 25, 61, 62, 67, 75, 166
What Schools Can Do, 62, 67, 69, 75, 77
Whitehead, Alfred N., 21
Wirth, Louis, 59
Work experience, 52
World Almanac and Book of Facts, 334
World of work, 329
Wyoming, 216

Y

Yearbooks, 251
Youth, economic asset, 156